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POETIC FRAGMENTS FROM THE GENIZAH

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IV. A POEM BY ELHANAN BEN SHEMARYAH.

THE following document, which Dr. Cyrus Adler was kind enough to put at my disposal, is found in a collection of Genizah MSS. which he brought from Cairo as early as 1891. It consists of a single sheet of parchment, measuring 29.2×11.4 cm. ($11\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in.), written on both sides. The writing is in square characters, and with the exception of the last line is legible throughout. The poem comprises sixty lines, thirty-nine of which fill one side of the sheet and the remaining twenty-one occupy the reverse side, the rest of this side being left blank. The first sixteen lines contain in acrostic the sixteen letters of the name of the author אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן־שְׁמַרְיָהוּ, while each alternate line of the remaining forty-four lines begins with one of the twenty-two letters of the alphabet.

While there is no positive evidence to prove the identity of this Elhanan b. Shemaryah, there is equally no ground to doubt that he is the well-known scholar of Kairwan who corresponded with the Geonim Sherira and Hai, and was the teacher of R. Nissim.¹ If this surmise is correct,

¹ This statement is in direct opposition to the opinion of Poznański, who holds that Elhanan was the pupil of R. Nissim (אנשׁ קירwan, No. 11). He bases his opinion on a passage in Gabirol's poem, addressed to R. Nissim,

then this document is the only poetic composition of Elhanan that has come to our knowledge, unless his letter to the community of Jerusalem, now in the Oxford collection of Genizah MSS. (Neubauer and Cowley, *Cat.* II, 2873, 21 a), is likewise written in the poetic style. The style of the poem reminds us very much of the Ḥushiel letter (*JQR.*, XI, 643 ff.). While it has no metre, it makes use of rhyme, parallelism, and biblical allusions, and has also a number of talmudic phrases. The language is in several places obscure, but because the writing is very clear I refrain from making alterations in the body of the poem, preferring to introduce my corrections in the notes.² There is one linguistic peculiarity which is worth especial notice. In a number of cases the vowel Yod of the word **כִּי** is elided, and the consonant **כ** is combined with the following word.³

Although the poem seems to be complete it does not contain any direct statement as to the time or the circumstances of its composition. It opens with a eulogy of the men who acquire wisdom and learn truth and justice, who shun the path of the perverse and keep the commandments, the inheritance of the righteous (vv. 1-7). It then speaks

where Elhanan is referred to as the **שער השיר** of R. Nissim (Brody, p. 37, l. 14). It is, however, impossible that Elhanan, who was already famous as a scholar in the days of Sheriz, should in his maturer years sit at the feet of a younger man. We must, therefore, construe the word **חניך** in some other way than its ordinary meaning. According to דקרוקי סופרים the passage in Mo'ed Ḳatan 25 a, **בעת חניכתו אבר** **חנינו**, is given in manuscript as **בעת חניכתו אבר חניבו**. Hence **חניך** is used in the sense of father, or educator (see also Jastrow, s.v. **חניך**), and Gabirol very likely refers to Elhanan as R. Nissim's teacher and not his pupil.

² Where the reading is very obscure I leave the text unpointed.

³ The following are the words in which the elision takes place: Ver. 53, **בְּמַאֲסָנוּ**; **כִּי** **לְפֹשָׁעִים** for **בְּלְפֹשָׁעִים**; ver. 54, **כִּי** **נְשָׂאֹן** for **בְּנְשָׂאֹן**; **כִּי** **הָרְצָנוּ** for **בְּהָרְצָנוּ**; ver. 58, **כִּי** **הָעֲרוֹן** for **בְּהָעֲרוֹן**; ver. 57, **כִּי** **מַאֲסָנוּ**.

of the men who proved unfaithful to the traditions of their fathers and, because of their pursuit after gain, found no profit in the study of the law but much weariness of flesh (vv. 9–14). From them the poet turns abruptly to speak of the men who search after knowledge diligently and who suffer great privations for the sake of their traditions (vv. 15–28). And just as abruptly he comes back to the wicked and the foolish ‘who rebel without understanding and transgress without ascertaining the truth’ (vv. 29–33), who, ignorant of the law, yet speak with haughtiness, and break all bonds as if to them alone all the land was given (vv. 34–40). Then, once more, the poet turns to eulogize the men who gave up their lives for their faith, as well as those who left their homes and their possessions that they might keep the law intact (vv. 41–6). And, finally, the poet tells us that these refugees found shelter in Rome, Teman, and Kedar, and concludes with an invocation that the great deeds of these men may bring everlasting grace upon them. By Rome he very likely means the western countries of Europe, and by Teman and Kedar he means Yemen and Southern Arabia in general.

It is evident, therefore, that the poet has in mind some definite events, and we are justified in assuming that he is very probably speaking of the persecutions under the Fatimide Caliph Hakim, which lasted from 1008 to 1020, and extended over Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, and Syria (Graetz, *Gesch.*, V², 388), a fact which explains why the refugees found no other haven than Europe and Southern Arabia.

אֲשֶׁרִ אֶרְתֶּם מִצְאָתֶךָמָה, וַהֲפִיק תְּבִנָּה וַמַּוְפָּרִים,⁴
 לְקַחְתָּ לְחֵח הַשְּׁבֵל, צְדָק וַמְּשֻׁפֶּט וַמְּיֻשָּׁרִים,
 חִירּוֹת חֲכָמִים וַרְבָּרִים, מְשֻׁלָּם וַמְּלִיצָת סְפָרִים;
 נִבְזֵן קִנְהָה מִחְבּוֹלָה, נִעַר מִזְפָּה וַמְּשֻׁמְרִים,⁵
 5 נִלְוֹז בְּחֵק מַעֲגֵל,⁶ לְקַבֵּן אֲמָרִים טְהוֹרִים,
 בָּרָא שְׁמֹועַ הַסּוֹפֶר, מָאֵן לְשִׁירִים אֲשָׁרִים;
 יָרָאת יְ וַמְּצֹוֹתְּךָ, מַזְרַח קִחְלָת יְשִׁירִים;⁷
 רְגִשָּׁה יְבוּר הַיְמָב, מַהֲעֵנָש בְּפָתָחִים חֲסָרִים,⁸
 בְּגִרוֹז מַטּוֹרָת אֲבָתֶם, בְּזִירָם מַפְּנִי מַסְרוּרִים,⁹
 10 יָעַן לְהָגָה הַרְבָּה, וְעַמְּל וַיְוִיעַת בְּשִׁלְוִים,¹⁰
 שְׁקָד דְּלַת אֲרִיכִים, עֲרָבִים שְׁתִירִים חֲבָרִים,¹¹
 מַעֲבָר לֹא הִיא, בְּבָנִים סְחָרִים פְּגָרִים,¹²
 רְגִפִּים¹³ לֹא חַמְצָא, בְּגָאָה וְנָאָן וְיָהִירִים.

⁴ The introductory eight lines are in greater part a paraphrase of Prov. 3. 13 and 1. 3-6.

⁵ Cp. Mal. 3. 14.

⁶ Cp. Prov. 2. 15.

⁷ The text is obscure and very likely corrupt. Read perhaps בָּרָא שְׁמֹעַן בְּחֵקָה, and with reference to Deut. 18. 16 and Ps. 17. 5 render 'To continue to hear [the voice] of the creator, to strengthen the steps of the survivors'.

⁸ The verb לְשִׁמּוֹד is to be supplied at the beginning of this verse.

⁹ I suggest reading רְגִשָּׁה יְבוּר מַהֲעֵנָש בְּפָתָחִים חֲבָרִים and with reference to Ps. 55. 15 and Eccles. 10. 3, render: 'He chooses to throng [the house of the Lord] rather than be punished like the fools [whose understanding] fails them'.

¹⁰ Cp. Abot 1. 1; 3. 13.

¹¹ Cp. Eccles. 12. 12.

¹² 'The students have to watch the gates [of learning] evening and morning.' Cp. Prov. 8. 34: Lowe, *The Mishnah on which the Palestinian Talmud rests*, Berakot 1. 1, 4 (מַאֲמָות קּוֹרֵין אֶת שְׁמָעַ בְּעַרְבִּים . . . בְּשָׁחָרִים).

¹³ With reference to Ezek. 27. 9, I suggest reading מַשְׁבֵּב לֹא הִיא, that is, the law is no merchandise among tradesmen and venders.

¹⁴ Plural of רַם (Jer. 48. 29), the meaning is that the law can find no distinction among people that are haughty and proud.

יְרֹץ רֹעֶה בְּגַלְמָה,¹⁵ אַחֲרֵי בְּצָעַם נְמַחְרִים,¹⁶
 15 הַוְמִיאוֹת תִּקְרֹא מְרֹת,¹⁷ בַּתְּחִילָה בַּרְאֵשׁ הַרִּים
 וְלִבְסֹזֶף עַלְיָה דָּרָה,¹⁸ בְּמַשְׁבִּים עַבְתָּה מְאַתְּרִים,¹⁹
 אָם לְפִינָה קּוֹרִים,²⁰ בְּעִיר בְּפַתְחֵי שָׁעָרִים,²¹
 בְּכֶסֶף וְזַהָב יַבְקְשִׁיהָ, וּבְחִיפּוֹשׁ מְטֻמָנִי מְסֻתְרִים,²²
 בְּמוֹסֵר אֲבִיהם תַּפְנוּ, פּוֹלִים בְּפְרִים וּעָרִים,²³
 20 מִרְבּוֹת²² אָאוּ לִישָׁא, שְׁבָעַל פָּה מְדָבְרִים,²⁴
 גְּלִלְמָה²³ חָרֵב שְׁוֹפְטִים,²⁴ לְחוֹפֵי חֹרֶב מְתַחְדָרִים,²⁵
 קְעוֹצָת תְּלִתְלִים, לְבָאֵר,²⁵ עַלְיָהָם בְּעֹוֹבֵר מְשֻׁתְחָרִים,²⁶
 דְּבָרֵי חַכְמִים קְרָמָנִים, לְפֹאֵר רְבֹתָם מִתְאַצְרִים
 אָסְפּוֹת אָסְפּוֹת, קְבָיעִים נְטוּעִים בְּדָרְבֵנוּ יַכְסִמְרִים,²⁷
 25 הַזְּלֵבִי תִּם צְדִיקִים, בְּפַקְדֵוּ פַקְדֵוּ פּוֹרִים,²⁸
 לֹא פִתְחָוּ וְהַזְּרִיוּ מִחוֹרִיות שָׁהָרָוּ מִהְוָרִים

¹⁵ Prov. 1. 16.¹⁶ Ezek. 33. 31.¹⁷ Prov. 1. 21.¹⁸ Isa. 5. 11.¹⁹ Prov. 2. 3.²⁰ Ibid. 1. 21.²¹ Ibid. 2. 4.

²² Deut. 33. 3. The meaning of verses 19 and 20 is that they gathered together for instruction (מוֹסֵר אֲבִיהם), wandering from village and town, to receive the words commanded as well as the laws handed down orally.

²³ Cp. Ps. 139. 16.²⁴ Cant. R. 1. 6.²⁵ This verb is to be taken with מִתְאַצְרִים in the next line.

²⁶ Cp. Cant. 5. 11. Suffering is metaphorically expressed by saying that the face has become black. Cp. the expression שהחירו פניו בחרניות כעורים (Ex. R. 1).

²⁷ Cp. Eccles. 12. 11. The meaning of vers. 22-4 can best be shown by rearranging the words as follows: קְצֹוֹת תְּלִתְלִים עַלְיָהָם בְּעֹוֹבֵר מְשֻׁתְחָרִים: [כְּשָׁהֵם] מִתְאַצְרִים אָסְפּוֹת לְבָאֵר לְמֹד רְבּוֹת דְּבָרֵי חַכְמִים קְרָמָנִים [שָׁהֵם] בְּדָרְבֵנוּ וּכְמַסְמָרוֹת קְבּוּעִים נְטוּעִים.

²⁸ I take the word חַפּוֹרָה אָרֵץ (cp. פּוֹרִים Isa. 24. 19), and render the verse: 'The righteous who walk in integrity, though broken [in spirit] observed as they were commanded.'

²⁹ Hof. of. יִהְיָה, not biblical.

וְלֹא יָבֹא כְּבָה עַשְׂתָּה, וְלֹא בְּפָחָד וְהַרְחָאִים,
 כַּתְּבָנוּ דָּרָךְ וְנִתְּבָבָן³⁰ הַגָּזֵל פְּחִים וּמְקֻמּוֹרִים.
 זֹוּ רְשָׁעִים פְּעָנָן, קְרָנוּ מִפְּטָן קְרִים³¹
 30 בְּנִים בְּלָא-אָמֵן,³² בְּנִים סְכִילִים³³ מְרִים³⁴
 חִלְפָג עֲבָרָה חָקָר, בְּרִית עַזְלָם מְפִירִים³⁵
 מְבָלִי דְּרִתָּת יְבִין,³⁶ בְּסִים בְּפִרְדָּה עֲזֹורִים,
 מְלָמֵד יְבִינֵי יְמָרָן, פְּרָם יְרָעֵי עֲזֹבִים,
 נְשָׂאָלִים רְבֵי תֹּוֹחַ, נְאָלָה נְחַשְּׁבָה כְּבָרִים³⁷
 35 יְמִיקָּן,³⁸ יְכַתְּבָו וּסְוִירִים,³⁹ יְהָנוּ יְנַעַן פְּשָׁכָרִים,⁴⁰
 יְדָבָרוּ בְּצֹאָר עַתְקָן,⁴¹ הַרְיוֹתֹת⁴² בְּאָרוֹת גְּנַבְּרִים,⁴³
 בְּחַשּׁוֹ בְּתִידְךָ מְאַבְתָּם,⁴⁴ לְפָרוֹז בְּגִינִּים סְוִירִים,
 פְּרָצָיו פְּרָעֵי נְזָרִים,⁴⁵ סִיגְנֵי הַפָּהָה הַיּוֹצָרִים⁴⁶
 לְהָם לְבָקְדָם הָאָרֶץ מִהְצָמָה קֹצִים וּדְרִידִים

³⁰ Cp. Ezek. 18. 25. The Hif. of תִּמְןָ is not biblical. The meaning of verses 27 and 28 seems to be that if only every one did the same as these righteous people did, and if the heart and mind were pure, then the way would be measured and safe from traps and snares.

³¹ Ps. 58. 4.

³² Deut. 32. 20.

³³ Jer. 4. 22.

³⁴ Cp. Num. 20. 10.

³⁵ Isa. 24. 5.

³⁶ Cp. Ps. 32. 9.

³⁷ Hos. 8. 12.

³⁸ Ps. 73. 8.

³⁹ The meaning of this verse may be a dittograph on account of יְכַתְּבָו וּסְוִירִים יְכַתְּבָו, cp. Isa. 10. 1.

⁴⁰ Ps. 107. 27.

⁴¹ Ps. 75. 6.

⁴² Sanhedrin 10. 2 (90 a).

⁴³ Jer. 2. 13.

⁴⁴ Job 15. 18.

⁴⁵ The meaning of this verse is that these wicked people tore down the fences and raised up others as if they were the creators (חַמָּה וּחוֹצָרִים), not the created (נוֹצָרִים).

⁴⁶ Supply the word תְּחַדֵּל before מִהְצָמָה and the verbs in the next verse, i.e. as if for them alone the earth ceases to bring forth thorns and thistles.

40 (verso)

מִיחַקְמַט⁴⁷ יְיָם נְשָׁמָנָם, מִהָּעָרֶב מִרְקָחָם נְשָׁמָרִים.
 מִסְרוֹ עֲצָם יְקָרִים, לְפָאִים לְהָאִיר מַעֲבָרִים,
 מֵי מַהַם בְּחָרֶב, מֵי גַּוְפִים מַתְבָּרִים,
 גְּבָרִים לַוְתִים⁵⁰ סְפָרִים, פְּלִים בְּעַשְׂןָ בְּכָרִים,
 מַלְשָׁפָחָ מִיפָּגָ אֲחֹנוֹנִים, מַבָּפָ לֹרָ מַהֲרִים,
 סְנָפֵלָ עַלְמָ בְּעַזְדָם, מַעַזָּן וַעֲנֵשׂ זִיפְנוֹרִים,
 סְעִי⁵³ וְתַלְמוֹדָם בְּדָרָם, וְהַפִּיחָו יְתָרָם לְגָצְרִים,
 עַנְיִים מַצָּאוֹ מִים,⁵⁵ עַזְלִים לְחָם אֲבָרִים,
 נְשָׁלָחָן מְלָא רְשָׁן,⁵⁷ מְבָלִי שָׁו⁵⁸ זְמִיחָרִים,
 פְּרוֹ נְתָנָג אֲבִיּוֹנִים,⁵⁹ צְחָה אַקָּא⁶⁰ תְּרָרִים,
 הַכִּינוֹ לְחָם אַד,⁶¹ בְּרֹקָה וְטִימָן וְקָרְרִים,
 אַזְרָקָתָם לְעָד תְּעַמֵּד,⁶² וְרָעָם לְפִנֵּיָם שְׁמֹרוֹרִים,⁶³
 לְעַם נְזָלָר, נְשָׁעָג,⁶⁴ הָרִי הַם לְחָם בְּפָרוֹרִים,⁶⁵

⁴⁷ Hif. of the verb פְּקַט ‘to ferment’. The meaning of this verse is that these wicked people regarded themselves above the laws of nature, and therefore their wine and oil would not ferment, and their perfumes would not be mixed with lees.

⁴⁸ In this verse the poet turns again to the righteous and says that they surrendered themselves to those who came to light up the roads. What he means by this is not clear to me.

⁴⁹ Cp. the expression שָׁעַשׂ כָּל גַּוֹפֹו בְּכָבְרָה, Taanit 22b.

⁵⁰ Cp. 1 Sam. 21. 10.

⁵¹ Jer. 51. 40.

⁵² For מְמַהָרִים, the meaning of verses 42-4 is that these pious people gave themselves up to the sword and fire rather than forget the law and turn away from it to clasp the hand of the stranger.

סְעַעַף בְּבָצָע : נְסָעוֹ כָּל חַשְׁרִי.

⁵⁴ They left their possessions to the wily of heart. Cp. Prov. 7. 10.

⁵⁵ Isa. 41. 17.

⁵⁶ Ps. 78. 25.

⁵⁷ Job 36. 16.

⁵⁸ Paianic usage for כְּסָף שָׁוָה.

⁵⁹ Ps. 112. 9.

⁶⁰ Isa. 5. 13.

⁶¹ Joshua 1. 11.

⁶² Ps. 112. 9.

⁶³ Cp. Job 21. 8.

⁶⁴ Cp. Ps. 22. 32.

⁶⁵ The meaning of the verse is that the deeds they have done will be as an atonement for the people that shall be born.

קָרְנֵם תָּרִום בְּכֹבֵד⁶⁶ כְּנַשָּׂאָג חִטָּא עֲרָרִים⁶⁷
 חִפְצָם בְּיָרֶם יָצַלְתָּ⁶⁸ בְּלִפְנֵשָׁעִים נִמְנוּ עֲתָרִים⁶⁹
 55 רְאֹות חָלְקָם בְּחִימָם⁷⁰ מִעְמָל נִפְשָׁם שְׁקָרִים⁷¹
 בְּמַאֲסָיו חִי שְׁעָתָה⁷² וּבְחִרְבוֹ חִיָּם גּוּמָרִים⁷³
 שְׁלֵל עֲזִים יְחִילָקָ⁷⁴ בְּהָעָרִי נִפְשָׁם פְּגָרִים⁷⁵
 רְשִׁיגִים וּרְעִנִּים יְהִיִּ⁷⁶ בְּחִרְצָוּ לְעַבְרִים בְּקָרִים⁷⁷
 תְּפִתְחָם מְנִים לְעַלְמָם⁷⁸ רְבָצָוּ מְלָאָג עֲרָרִים⁷⁹
 60 בְּכֹבְבִים אָזָם [בְּהָ] יְרִים⁸⁰ בְּצַדְקוֹ . . . קְוִל . . .

V. FROM A DIVAN OF SOLOMON IBN GABIROL.

IN 1858 Leopold Dukes published a volume of Gabirol's secular poems which he gathered from manuscripts in Oxford, Parma, and Vienna.¹ With the exception of two poems which were in the possession of Carmoly, and to which Dukes evidently had no access, this volume, though containing only sixty-nine poems, represented almost all that was known of Gabirol's secular poetry.² Ten years

⁶⁶ Ps. 112. 9.

⁶⁷ Cp. Lev. 20. 20 and Yebamot 55 a. See also above, n. 3.

⁶⁸ Cp. Isa. 53. 10.

⁶⁹ Cp. Isa. 53. 12 and Zeph. 3. 10. The meaning is that they were numbered among the transgressors though they were engaged in prayer.

⁷⁰ Cp. Ps. 142. 6.

⁷¹ Cp. Isa. 53. 11.

⁷² Berakot 48 b.

⁷³ Cp. Isa. 53. 12.

⁷⁴ Ps. 92. 15.

⁷⁵ With their suffering they atoned for the communities as with offerings of bullocks (Lev. 4. 13-21). Cp. Siphre, Deut. 32: בְּשָׁם שְׁקָרְנוֹת מְרַצִּים כְּךָ יִסּוּרִים מְרַצִּים.

⁷⁶ Prov. 11. 3.

⁷⁷ Cp. Zeph. 2. 14.

⁷⁸ Cp. Dan. 12. 3.

¹ Dukes, *Shir Shlomo*, Hannover, 1858.

² *Id.*, *Salomo ben Gabirol aus Malaga*, Hannover, 1860, pp. 13, 14. Dukes claims that he published all the poems of Gabirol, even the fragments, but the fact is that he overlooked some poems even in the Oxford MS., as, for instance, the poem תְּוֹנָה אֲשֶׁר נִדְרָ reproduced below.

later, in 1868, Senior Sachs made an attempt to gather and elucidate the religious poetry of Gabirol.³ But his method of elucidation was so comprehensive that in a work of 167 pages only 29 short poems were reproduced.

Neither Dukes nor Sachs made any reference to a complete, independent Divan of Gabirol's poems. Steinschneider's list of 65 poems is based on the Oxford MS. מהנה הנשאָר, which is only an appendix to the Divan of Judah Ha-Levi (מהנה יהוֹרָה), and contains the compositions of many other poets;⁴ while Luzzatto, who began to make a list of Gabirol's poems, likewise made no mention of any special collection.⁵

The first intimation of the existence of a Gabirol Divan was given by Harkavy in the prefatory note to four poems of Gabirol published by him in 1893,⁶ although he did not emphasize this point.⁷ Then came the list of 114 poems published by Neubauer⁸ from a Genizah manuscript which seems to have been originally an index to a Divan of Gabirol.⁹ Further proof that the poems of Gabirol were at one time gathered into a Divan has been furnished by the thirty-three leaves from the Genizah in the possession of

³ Sachs, *שִׁירִי הַשְׁוֹרִים*, Paris, 1868.

⁴ St., *Cat. Bodl.*, pp. 2336–7; Neub., *Cat.*, 1970, III.

⁵ Luzzatto, *השלה הפיתנים*, I, 38, David Kahana states that he compiled a list of Gabirol's poems, but does not speak of any special Divan.

⁶ Harkavy, No. 3 (published as supplement to *המִלְיאָן*, *אֲרְבָּעָה מִאמְרִים* גֶּם יִשְׁנִים), 1893, No. 144, under the title of *אֲרְבָּעָה מִאמְרִים*, p. 4.

⁷ He merely says: *בְּחִלּק מִדְיוֹן רְשָׁבָג בְּכִי מִצְאָתִי וּבְכִי*.

⁸ *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an D. Kaufmann*, Breslau, 1900, pp. 279–87.

⁹ Neub. and Cowley, *Cat.*, No. 2835.¹⁷ It may be of interest to know that just as in MS. Oxford No. 1970 the poems of Gabirol follow the poems of Judah Ha-Levi, so also in this index the record of Gabirol's poetry follows that of Ha-Levi's.

E. N. Adler. This fragment, which has been identified and edited by Brody,¹⁰ contains the greater part of thirty-four poems of Gabirol,¹¹ thirteen of which had been entirely lost to us.¹² And now we have in the fragment from the Taylor-Schechter collection, reproduced below, additional and conclusive corroboration that Gabirol's poetry had already long ago been gathered in one independent collection.

Our fragment (T-S. LOAN 69) consists of two mutilated leaves of paper, the first of which is only about four-fifths of its original size (17 x 16 cm.). The second leaf, still preserving its original size (21 x 16 cm.), has also preserved its original pagination, and bears the number 30 (i.e. 5). The poems, written in a cursive hand, are numbered from 122 to 126. And since the leaves are consecutive we have in this fragment ff. 29 and 30 of what was once a *Divan* of Gabirol's poetry. The name of Gabirol, it is true, is not mentioned in the fragment, but there cannot be the least doubt that the poems are his. For No. 122 is also found in the Oxford MS.,¹³ No. 123 is mentioned in Neubauer's list,¹⁴ No. 124 is the oft reprinted poem beginning *מליצתי בראנתי* *חרופה*, and No. 126 has likewise been included in Dukes's edition.¹⁵ The only poem of which there was not even a record until now is No. 125, and that poem could be recognized as Gabirol's by its very diction, as will be pointed out in the notes to the text. Our fragment, therefore, gives us two poems for which there is no other source at all, one

¹⁰ *MGWJ.*, LV, pp. 76-97.

¹¹ The fragment contains thirty-six poems, but Brody doubts Gabirol's authorship in two cases: fol. 30 a, b and fol. 33 a.

¹² See *ibid.*, p. 92, where Brody gives a list of them.

¹³ St., *Cat. Bodl.*, p. 2337, No. 54.

¹⁴ *Gedenkbuch*, p. 286, col. 3, No. 22.

¹⁵ *שירי שלמה*, No. 69.

poem which is found also in the Oxford MS., and two others which give us better readings than that of the printed texts.

The first poem (No. 122) is an elegy on his father's death.¹⁶ From the expression אבִי אֲשֶׁר הִיא עִיר חַבֵּל (ver. 5) we may infer that his father was a man of importance, and from the last verse, in which he consoles himself with the fact that he is safe from further sorrow דַי, בַּי מְגֻורֵי בָּא, וָנֶפֶשׁ (ver. 16), we may infer that his father was the last of his kin to die.¹⁷ The second poem (No. 123) seems to be a satire on some versifiers who had no talent for poetry. It reminds us of another long poem of Gabirol on this subject, and recalls to mind some of its phraseology,¹⁸ as will be pointed out in the notes to the text. Only the first five lines of this poem are preserved, and by comparing the number of lines on fol. 29 b with the number of lines on fol. 30 b we find that of the twenty-eight lines only eight are missing. I, therefore, assume that five of these eight belonged to No. 123, making the whole poem consist of ten lines, one was the opening line of No. 124, and the remaining two lines must have contained a superscription to No. 124.¹⁹

¹⁶ This was already pointed out by Brody (*MGWJ.*, LV, p. 95, note 72), from his study of the Oxford MS.

¹⁷ To establish the text of No. 122 of our fragment with greater facility and precision, my friend Prof. Marx obtained for me through Prof. Cowley a facsimile of two pages of the Oxford MS. (Pococke 74, fol. 170 b–171 a). These two pages contain the last twenty-four verses of the poem עַתָּה הָ� וְלַבְשׁ נָאנוּם, and Nos. 122, 124 as well as the first nine lines of No. 126 of our fragment.

¹⁸ I have reference to the poem עַתָּה הָ� הַתְּחִיה, I, 47–56; Dukes, ש"ש, No. 9; Graetz, לְקֹט שְׁוּשָׁנִים, p. 49.

¹⁹ It is, however, possible that fol. 29 b contained originally twenty-nine lines like fol. 30 a, in which case nine lines would be missing. Two of these must have belonged to No. 124, one as superscription and one as the opening line, and the remaining seven must have been part of No. 122, making it consist of twelve verses.

The third poem (No. 124) has already been published five times,²⁰ and I would have refrained from reproducing it a sixth time were it not for the fact that our Genizah fragment presents the best text so far known, and does away with some of the far-fetched interpretations to which the commentators were forced to resort. As Sachs has pointed out,²¹ this poem is in the form of a dialogue between Gabirol and some friend to whom he complains of his misfortunes. Verses 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10 are spoken by Gabirol, and verses 3, 4, 7, 8 by his friend. The fourth poem (No. 125) seems to be a conciliatory epistle, written to a friend with whom he had quarrelled, but whose friendship he wished to retain, provided the friend admitted he had acted wrongly (compare verses 21-24). The identity of this friend, however, is impossible to establish. As stated in the tenth verse, this poem was written at the age of 16, and its phraseology reminds us of another poem written in the same year.²² Altogether, then, we know with certainty of five poems composed by Gabirol at this early age. They are *תחלת אל עטה הור מליצתי בדאנתי התלען*,²³ and *אני השיר*, the first twenty-nine lines of which are found in the last poem of our fragment (No. 126). This poem was published once by Dukes,²⁷ but his text is so faulty that instead of merely giving the variants I feel justified in reproducing the

²⁰ *לקט שושנים* (1858), No. 3; *שירי שלמה* (1850), p. 1; *גנץ אקספרד* (1862), p. 37; *רבי שלמה בן נבירול וקצת בני דורו* (1878?), pp. 8-12; *עטה הור מליצתי בדאנתי התלען* (1906), p. 36.

²¹ *ריש"בג וקצת בני דורו*, p. 8.

²² See notes to the text.

²³ *ריש"בג וקצת בני דורו*, p. 12. Sachs conjectures that it is probably another version of the poem *עטה הור* (*ibid.*, p. 13).

²⁴ = No. 125 of our fragment.

²⁵ See above, n. 20.

²⁶ See above, n. 18.

²⁷ *שירי שלמה*, No. 69.

complete text of our fragment, though it is but a small part of the whole poem.

In addition to the text of the poems I deem it proper, in this connexion, to present in an appendix a number of corrections to the Genizah index published by Neubauer. As Neubauer himself informs us in his prefatory note,²⁸ it was impossible for him, on account of his poor eyesight, to add any comment to the text, and the identification of many of the poems was made by Halberstam. Yet there are many poems still unidentified, and the few identifications which I add may prove of service to students of Gabirol's poetry. A full list of Gabirol's poems, giving the printed and manuscript sources, would fill a long felt want. But this must be reserved for another occasion. Meanwhile let us hope that Dr. Brody will be enabled to complete his excellent edition of Gabirol,²⁹ and make such a list unnecessary.

ולה פ . . . באר . . . אצטbaar . . .³⁰

— — | — — — | — — —

כבב תונגה אֲשֶׁר נִעַדר בַּאֲבַד צָרִיךְ יִשְׁחַ לְבָבִי בְּעַלּוֹת שְׁפִיחָה³¹
עד אֲהַיָּה עָרֵב לִמְוֹל שְׁתִיָּה³² בְּפָהָת צָקִינִי לְעֵית עָרֵב

²⁸ *Gedenkbuch*, p. 279.

²⁹ *שיר השירים*, Berlin, 1898–1900, 8°, 36 + 28 pp.

³⁰ In the Oxford MS. there is no superscription. Words enclosed in brackets are supplied from the Oxford MS. unless otherwise stated in the notes.

³¹ This verse is to be construed as if it read **לְבָבִי בְּעַלּוֹת** **כַּאֲבָב** [מַאֲרֵן] **יִשְׁחַ** **תונגה** **אֲשֶׁר** **נִעַדר** **בַּאֲבַד** **צָרִיךְ** **שְׁפִיחָה** which may be rendered: 'My heart is bowed down like a ghost from the ground (cp. Isa. 29. 4) when my grief, for which there is no balsam, reaches its height (cp. Num. 23. 3).'

³² Cp. Lev. 13. 52. The fragment reads: **לִמְוֹל שְׁתִיָּה**.

מִרְבֶּבֶן, אֹו יָצַלָּה בְּכִיה ³⁴
 רִמְעָה בְּעִינִי הַכְּ[וֹב]³⁵ חִיה
 לֹא מֹה שְׁבָול ³⁶ אַיִלָּה נַ[אֲלָ]ה עֲרִיה
 וַיַּטְרֹפֵה מְלִקְתָּה אַיִלָּה ⁴⁰
 בְּצִירֹר מִנוּתָה [הַיְמָה]⁴¹ עַסְדִּיה
 בְּבָמְאַשֵּׁר תְּפַזֵּל שְׁבִיָּה
 לְשָׁחוֹת אָנָשִׁים שְׁחַתָּה [חַצִּינָה]⁴³

פֶּל אַקְרָאָה עַיִן לְבָל תְּכִלָּה ³³
 אַבְכָּה וְעוֹד אַבְכָּה וּבְלִתְמוֹתָה ³⁵
 5 אַבְיָ אַשְּׁר חִיה עֲרִי תְּכִלָּה
 אַיִל ³⁸ עַלְיוֹ בְּנוֹת יְמִים ³⁹
 חִיה לְאֹות צְדָקוֹ אַשְּׁר נַפְשׁוֹ
 אַל תָּאַמְּנוּ לְבִי בְּתְבִל פִּי
 דַּע מְאַרְמָה אַחֲרִי זָאת פִּי

³³ Cp. Lam. 2. 11.

³⁴ This verse is thus to be rendered: 'The more I call unto mine eye not to grow weak with weeping the more it weeps.'

³⁵ MS. Oxford reads: אַבְכָּה וּכְל תְּמוֹתָה.

³⁶ The meaning of the last two words is not clear to me. Perhaps we may construe the phrase to mean that the eye is constantly flowing with tears like he who has an issue (cp. Lev. 22. 4) and read, הַכְּבָב חִיה, or perhaps read read, הַפְּאָב חִיה, i.e. the tear which the pain has revived never ceases.

³⁷ The meaning of this phrase is obscure. Perhaps we ought to read לְאַמָּה שְׁבָלָן שְׁבָול (cp. Isa. 47. 9). MS. Oxford reads:

³⁸ Our fragment reads: אַיִלָּו.

³⁹ On the frequency of this and similar metaphors in the poetry of the Spanish-Arabic period see Goldziher, 'Bemerkungen zur neuhebräischen Poesie' (*JQR*, XIV, 721). Following is a list of the verses in the poems of Gabirol in which the expression בְּנוֹת יְמִים occurs. Dukes, שְׁרֵי שְׁלָמָה, No. 6, ver. 1; No. 9, ver. 6; No. 10, ver. 5; No. 15, ver. 1; No. 16, ver. 9; No. 22, ver. 6; No. 62, ver. 5; in No. 24, ver. 10, the expression בְּנוֹת יְמִים is used.

⁴⁰ The suffix refers to תְּבִל in the preceding verse.

⁴¹ His righteousness has been a sign that his soul is bound up in peace with God.

⁴² The word תְּבִל is used here in the sense of 'fortune', and the poet warns us not to put our trust in fortune, because her spoils are greater than her gifts.

⁴³ Henceforth (אַחֲרִי זָאת) know this of the world that she sharpens her arrows (cp. Jer. 9. 7) to kill men. The form חַצִּינָה, which presupposes a root חַצֵּן, can be explained by 1 Sam. 20. 38.

אם לא יהי דינה כמו עביה⁴⁴ ۱۰ תער בטהעת על אצבע
 הזרה ונטה אחריו ופייה⁴⁵ שבר לאיש יסוד ללבו עם
 תבל בכו עז ואנוש פריה⁴⁶ אלבש לבוש יונן ובראותי
 כי הכאב יוסיף עלי חלה⁴⁷ אשב לכבוד אש פיאב נפשי
 לא תחזה רעה וואת רעה⁴⁸ ד[י], כי מנוורי בא, ונפשי עוד

וכותב אליו בעז אכואה ים מן ארעי
 צנעה אל שער מן ניר אחסאן לה⁴⁹

— — — | — — | — — —

קָבֵג יְדִירִי צְמָקִי דְּרִי⁵⁰ תְּבוֹנָה
 וְקָפוּ יְוָנָקִי הַשְׁוֵיר וְכָלָג⁵¹
 עַדְנָיו שְׁתָותָה⁵² בְּזָיו וְאָבָן
 וְנָהָרָסִי נֹשָׁנָיו הַיּוֹם וּבְלָג⁵³
 וְנָרָגִי יְוָרָעִי אֲנָשִׁי עַזָּחוֹ⁵⁴
 [] סָרוּ וְנָרָעִי אֲנָשִׁי עַזָּחוֹ⁵⁵

⁴⁴ The world presses [on man] like a ring on the finger when it has not enough of breadth to fit the thickness [of the finger]. The fragment reads : אם לא יהי ביה כמו עביה, MS. Oxford reads : אם לא יהי ביה.

⁴⁵ Woe to the man whose heart turns after her splendour and inclines to her beauty. MS. Oxford reads : שבר לאיש יצור לבבי.

⁴⁶ Construe this verse as if it read ... פריה אלבש לבוש יונן.

⁴⁷ MS. Oxford reads : כי מנוורי בה.

⁴⁸ In the last two verses the poet tries to console himself by the fact that the death of his father is the last blow that fate can aim at him.

⁴⁹ ‘He wrote to one of his friends blaming him who laid claims to the art of poetry without possessing the gift for it.’ In deciphering this, as well as some of the other Arabic superscriptions that follow, I consulted my friends Prof. Israel Friedlaender and Mr. B. Halper.

⁵⁰ Cp. Hos. 9: 14 and the expression (Berakot 10 a).

⁵¹ A similar expression is found in the poem שיר שלמה עטה הור (the title of the poem) found in the poem, No. 9; I, pp. 47-56), v. 70.

⁵² Cp. Ps. 11. 3.

⁵³ אַדְנָיו (Exod. 35. 11) would be better suited to the metaphor.

⁵⁴ Cp. Deut. 4. 25.

⁵⁵ יְוָרָעִי would be more correct.

⁵⁶ Fragment reads יְקַם, but the metre requires יְקַמּוּ.

⁵⁷ The MS. is torn in this place and it seems as if two letters are missing. We should perhaps read **בְּתִים** in the sense of stanzas, the meaning would then be that these pseudo-poets write in faulty stanzas and do not know the laws of scansion. Cp. also his poem עטיה הוד ver. 33: **אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַדְעַן** בשר לזרב ואימין להגות בו נאמנים.

⁵⁸ This is all that is left of the superscription. As the poem has already been thoroughly commented upon by S. Sachs in his essay **רבינו שלמה בן נגידו וקצת בני דורו**, pp. 8-12, I shall abstain from further comment, except where the Genizah MS. differs from the printed text.

⁵⁹ MS. Oxford has clearly תרופה. Sachs reads הרופה.

⁶⁰ Cp. Eccles. 2. 22; 3. 18.

⁶¹ MS. Oxford reads: **עליהם האספה**. Sachs (*loc. cit.*, p. 9) corrects it into **עליהם האספה**, and maintains that the word **עליהם** refers to the words **שש עשר**, interpreting it to mean, 'Is it for a youth of sixteen to mourn over the sixteen years that have passed!' Our text gives a much more logical sense: 'Is it for a youth of sixteen to lament over the day of death!' See also Sachs, *ibid.*, p. 2.

וְעַל־כֵּן הִיְתָה נֶפֶשִׁי בְּפִזְבָּה
וְנֶפֶשִׁי חַדְרִיאָה שֶׁם קְצִוָּה
וְזֹהָה, בַּי לְכַלְּבָבָה פָּרָזָה
וּמְהִזְוּעַל לְזָמָעָה הַעֲרָזָה
וְהַיּוֹם עָזָר וְלֹא קָלָה תְּקִפָּה
אֲנָשׁ נְכָאָב אֲשֶׁר נֶפֶשׁ נְגָפָה.⁶⁴

5 שְׁפָטָנִי⁶² לְבַבִּי מְפֻעָבִי
וְשֶׁם נְבָיו וְהַמִּקְרָר מְנָתוֹ
וּמְהִבְצָע בְּהַתְּחָאָף⁶³ אֲבָל הוּם
וּמְהִזְוּעַל בְּכֹזֶת עַל הַמְּצִוִּים
וּמְהִאָוָהָיל עַד־בְּפָה אַיְחָל
60 וּפְרָם בּוֹא צְרִיר־גְּלָעֵד וִימּוֹת

ולְה קִזְרָה צְנָעָה פִּי

אַבְתָּדָאָה בְּקָול אַלְשָׁעָר⁶⁵

— — — | — — —
קְכָה חַחְלָעָן לְאַנְוֹשׁ יְחִיר בְּרוֹזָת⁶⁶
אֲשֶׁר הַתּוֹם וְהַיּוֹשֵׁר לְבָשָׁוֹשׁ⁶⁷
וְבָחָר בְּאַמְוֹנָה מִבְּחָרָות
וְיָם נְשָׁאוֹן וְיָם עַבְרָה וְצָרוֹת
כְּכָל אֲנִישִׁי רַקְבָּשׁוּ שֶׁם נְעָרוֹת⁶⁹
וְהַדְּבָעָת בְּנֶפֶשׁוֹ תִּם סְתָאָרוֹת
לְקָה אָזְמָר שְׁפָתִי לְאִישׁ מְחַתָּה⁷⁰

⁶² MS. Oxford and printed texts read: **שְׁפָטָנִי**.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, לְהַתְּחַצֵּף.

⁶⁴ The manuscript reads **הַיּוֹם אֲנָשׁ נְכָאָב וְנֶגֶף נְגָפָה**, which is difficult to explain, for **נְגָפָה** could not refer to **אֲנָשׁ**, and the abstract noun is, but in our text it refers correctly to **נֶגֶף**.

⁶⁵ A *kasida* composed when he began to write poetry.

⁶⁶ The manuscript reads **בְּרוֹזָה**, but the nature of the *kasida* requires that the first hemistich of the first line should have the same ending with which the whole poem rhymes. For a similar expression see his poem **עַמָּה הוּד בְּרוֹז**: ver. 3: **וְדֹעַ בַּי הַנְּקָה יְחִיר בְּרוֹז**.

⁶⁷ The same phrase is found in the above-mentioned poem, ver. 91.

⁶⁸ Ezek. 31. 8.

⁶⁹ The word **מִתְמַךְ** בְּשָׁחָר is to be understood. Cp. Isa. 33. 15. Manuscript reads **בְּכָל אֲנִישִׁי יִקְרֹו שֶׁם נְעוּרוֹת**.

⁷⁰ Manuscript reads **לְקָה אָזְמָר לְאִישׁ שְׁפָתִי מְחַתָּה**, but the metre requires the transposition.

וְקַיּוּם וְבָרָח וְעַבְרָה מַעֲבָרוֹת⁷¹
בְּצִיר נְכָאִיב לְבָבֶךָ כְּמַ...⁷²
בְּמַבְּבִירָה עַצְמָרָה בְּגַעֲרוֹת⁷³

ל

וְשִׁשְׁעָשָׁרָה שְׁנָתוּי בְּם סְפָרוֹת
וְכָל אָחוֹן אָכָל בַּי בְּמִקְרֹות
וְכָל נְפָשָׁה תְּבַקֵּשׁ הַבְּצָרוֹת
וְוֹצִיאָה מְסֻלָּעִים
וְהַמְּאָל כָּל רֹות
וְגַם לִי מְחוֹה הַמְּה . . . ת
וְנְפָשָׁה מְנֻפְשָׁות
לְחַרְפָּה תֹּזֶק גּוֹיִתָּם אֲסֹרוֹת
אָכָל וְשַׁתָּה לְשָׁבָעָה מְפֹרְרוֹת
לְמַעַן מְאָסָוי עַיְנָיו בְּאוֹרוֹת
וּוּסְרָר מְעָלֵי רָאשָׁךְ עַטְרוֹת
תְּרַפְּרוֹת בּוּ בְּךָ יְהִי קְשֹׁאָרוֹת
גַּטְרָה אִיְבָה וְאַקְשִׁיב הַעֲתָרוֹת⁷⁴
וּמְרַבְּרִי צָרִי עַל-כָּל קְוֹוֹת
תְּלַחְשָׁךְ מְפַעַלִי הַעֲפָרוֹת⁷⁵

שְׁפָעָמְלִי וְחַטְחָה אָונְנָה לִי
בְּטַרְטָם לֹא אַשְׁמָמָה נָע... ר
וּתְחִילָה בְּחִמָּת חַאי אַכְמָן[י]

ה⁷⁴ ה⁷⁴ אָנִי יְמִי מְעוּטִים
וְלוּ דָר נְתִיבִי⁷⁶
עַת לְבִי
וְאַם עַל חַבְךָ מָר קְדַבֵּשׁ קִוִם
וְהַעֲדֵר יִסְפֵּר בְּחַשְׁבָה
וְתַלְךָ פְּאַכְלָאָטָם⁷⁷ וְתַפְוִירָאָש
קָרָא שְׁרִי וְאַל-חַרְגָּא לְמַעַן
לְמַעַן בַּי אָנִי אַשְׁׁזָב וְאַשְׁׁבָה
וְלִי מְרַפְּאָה לְכָל-מִפְהָא אֲנִישָׁה
אָכָל בַּי עַל-מִנְתָּחָה תְּשֻׁבָּה וּכְלִיּוֹם

⁷¹ 'Run from my wrath.' Cp. Job 21. 30. The poet is also playing upon the phrase עַבְרָה מַעֲבָרָה (Isa. 10. 29).

⁷² Read perhaps בְּמִגְרֹות (2 Sam. 12. 31).

⁷³ 'And thou wilt tremble at the wrath of my spoken arrows like a woman that gives birth to her first-born after being barren in her youth.' Cp. Jer. 32. 30.

⁷⁴ Supply perhaps רַאֲה הַנָּה.

⁷⁵ Ps. 35. 14.

⁷⁶ 'I shall hear the supplications.' עַתְּרָה = pl. of עַתְּרָה, formed from עַטְרָה after the analogy of עַטְרָה from עַטְרָה.

⁷⁷ 'And every day thou shalt lick the dust off my boots.' עַפְרוֹת = pl. absolute. In the Bible only the pl. const. is found.

אֲקָרִי הַגְּשִׁים לְהַעֲטָרוֹת
עַל־יְשָׁרִים וַיְחִי בָּם יִתְרוֹת
וְהַמְּאוֹת וְשָׁרֵי הַעֲשֹׂות
יְהוָה בְּלֶשׁוֹן מִתְּיִ מַסְרֵר זִכְוֹרֹת⁷⁸

לִפְרֵר הַפְּתָאִים בָּם לִדְרוֹת
לְבָב נִמְחָר בְּאַלְמָה תְּהִדְרוֹת⁸⁰

תְּלִיאָר⁷⁹ וְתִחְנֹר עֹד חִנּוֹרוֹת
וְאַשְׁלָח אַלְקִצָּה־תְּבֵל אַתְּרוֹת
חַלָּא יִקְרֵר שָׁרוֹם וְשָׁרוֹת
וְרֹעֹת מִלְבָבְךָ עֲדֹרוֹת
אַנְיִ פְּ[טָאָר]⁸¹ וְשִׁירָתִי פְּטוֹרוֹת

בְּעִינִי בְּלִאָנוֹשׁ [גְּ]שְׁפִיל וְיִזְעֵן

25 בְּנֵן אֲשָׁב אֲנֵי אָז לְךָ וַיְהִי
אֲשָׁים מַעֲלָוֶתֶיךָ בְּבוֹהוֹת
וְשָׁרֵי הַאֲלָפִים יִכְרְעֵוּ לְךָ
וְאַקְרָוֶתִי אֲשֶׁר עַפְתָּ חַקְקִתִּים
וּבְיַיְהוּ מִיְהָ לְקָם שְׁבָטִים

30 וְתִבְרַתִי בְּךָ אַלְמָה לִפְרֵר
לִעְתָּ תְּכָא בְּמַלְחָמָת תְּשִׁיטָס
וְעוֹד אֲשִׁיר לְבָד אַלְמָה בְּשִׁמְךָ
וְאַם בְּלִבְבְּךָ שְׁמַיִן תְּבוֹנָה
וְאַם אַתָּה חָסֵר שְׁ[כָּל] וּבִינָה

35 30b בְּעִינִי בְּלִאָנוֹשׁ [גְּ]שְׁפִיל וְיִזְעֵן

לְה פִי בְעַק תְּלָא . . . ל. אַנְדָּלָס

וְהוּ קָד וְלִי אַל חַבִּי

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | —

[קָבוֹן] [תְּהִלָּת] אֶל בְּרָאֵשׁ בְּלִתְהָ[לֹות] [זְגַרְקָוֶתִי לְמִפְנוֹת] הַגְּדוֹלֹות
וְשַׁת בִּינָה עַלְיָעָרֶץ⁸² וְגִנְשָׁבֶב (fol. 30b)

78 יִשְׁוֹרָה : עַתָּה הָוֶר, מִתְּיִ מַסְרֵר וְיָהָנוּ בְּצִדְקוֹתָיו יְמִי עַוְלָם וְשָׁנִים.

79 Reads perhaps גְּבָרִים.

80 'I join an oath unto thee that thou punish the heart of the rash with these beautiful [verses].' For the use of **חבר** in this sense cp. אַחֲבָירָה and **תִּבְרַתִי בְּךָ אַלְמָה . . .** (Job 16. 4). It is also possible to read . . . בְּמַלְמָם and render it as follows: 'I associate these [verses] with thee that thou punish the heart of the rash with these beautiful verses.' But the repetition of the adjective **אַלְמָה** is objectionable.

81 There is no superscription in the Oxford MS. The words or letters enclosed in brackets are supplied from the edition of Dukes (*Shelma* No. 69), which is based on that manuscript. For interpretation of some lines of this poem see S. Sachs, pp. 13-16.

82 Edition = אַרְעֵן.

אֲשֶׁר גָּרְלָה עַלְיָה בְּלַגְרוּלֹת
וַתִּחְרִיב [בְּעִזּוֹתָה הַ[מִצְגָּלוֹת]
בְּגִילּוּתָם [וַתִּחְשִׁבְתָּה הַגְּאֹלוֹת]
וְגַלְמָרָה [שְׁבִילָה מִשְׁבִּילֹת]
אֲכִילָה נִסְבָּתָה אֲכִילֹתָה
וּבְקַמְעַט קָטָן וְאֲלָפִים קְפֹלוֹת]
וְעוֹדָם יְרֵם גַּזְבָּתָן שִׁירָת נְטוּלוֹת]
עַלְיָה יְלִקָּה אֲשֶׁר כְּהֵה [נְחָלוֹת]
בְּשִׁחוֹת וְתִלְקָלוֹת אֲפִילֹת
עֲנֵיה בְּעִמּוֹתָה קְבִילֹת
וְהַמּוֹתֹת תִּמּוֹט בְּאִילֹת
וַתִּשְׁבַּב לְהָגָטָלָה מִשְׁבַּב גְּמִילֹת.
וְתַקְים כְּעִתְאִיכָּה סְלָלוֹת
וְהַנְּהָה לָה = Edition.

אֲשֶׁר תִּחְמֹשׁ אֶרְכָּה עַלְבְּלִיכָּה
אֲשֶׁר [תְּשֻׂרְךָ] וַתִּפְרֹה הַיְשָׁנִים
לְשָׁה גָּוָלָה [גִּמְבָּגִים] שְׁבִוָּלָה
גְּרִירָה מְהֻנָּחָה לְאַנְחָה
וְתוּם ⁸³ לְהַבְּמוֹ אֶלְךָ בְּגִלְוָת
בְּכָל פְּחָם אֶכְלִיָּה יְרִיכִים
בְּעִזּוֹם עַצְמָה ⁸⁴ הַעֲצָנוֹם
וְתֵא מִיד לִיד נְרָקָה יְשָׁתָּה
בְּחָלֵי הָעֲנֵי ⁹¹ תִּשְׁבַּב אֲחֹזָה
מְפַרְקָעׂ עֹל פָּרָק עֹל צְוָאָרָה
וּמְשִׁבְרָתָה לְגַלְתָּה תְּשִׁלָּם
וְתַבְּנָה מְהֻרְבִּסָּה ⁹³ בְּצָרוֹת

⁸³ Edition = לה. ⁸⁴ Cp. Ps. 35. 1.
⁸⁵ Cp. Jer. 6. 2, and Brown and Driver, *Heb. and Eng. Lexicon*, s.v. דָמָה II. דָמָה.

⁸⁶ Cp. 1 Chron. 12. 38. The Ed. reads וְעוֹד יְתָמוּ שָׁאָרִיתָם. The MS. Oxford reads וְעוֹד יְתָמוּ שְׁרִיתָם and on the margin are given two variants, וְעוֹדָם יְתָמוּ שְׁרִיתָם and יְרֵם שָׁאָרִיתָם. Dukes (*ibid.*, p. 69, n. 4) copied one of the variants wrongly and gives וְאֶל יְדָמוּ שָׁאָר.

⁸⁷ So in text, but I suggest reading נְגָלֹת and render the clause as follows: 'And they continue to destroy the remnant that was saved.'

⁸⁸ Cp. Jer. 50. 17.

⁸⁹ Read perhaps . . . עַדְיִ חִילָה and the verse may be rendered: 'The mighty have oppressed her with their might until the wealth which she once possessed became their possession.' Ed. reads אֲשֶׁר סַר נְחָלוֹת.

⁹⁰ Ed. reads וְשָׁוֹתָה.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, העוֹנִי

כְּאִילֹת *Ibid.*, and in a note gives the reading כְּחִילֹת.

⁹² *Ibid.*, מְהֻרְבִּסָּה.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, נְפֹלוֹת, and the fragment reads נְטוּלוֹת. Both these readings are incorrect since the context requires a parallel to בְּצָרוֹת, hence my correction.

אֲשֶׁר הִי לְצֹרִיחַ⁹⁵ בְּעִילוֹת
 חַחַתְּךָ בְּמַכְלֵת בְּלִילוֹת⁹⁶
 וְהַשְׁינוּ⁹⁸ וְהַשְׁנוּם קְלִילוֹת
 וְהַ[בְּ]בִילְוָעָרִי אַיִן בָּם יְכֹלֹות⁹⁹
 בְּאַיִלּוֹת חַשְׁכּוֹת מְאַיִלּוֹת¹⁰¹
 [שְׁאֲ]רִירִתְּךָ עַקְבָּעָשׂ¹⁰³ פְּלִילוֹת
 [וְ]בָשְׁוֹחַנְשִׁים הַשְׁתִּילוֹת
 [וְ]הַיְיָ הַקְשִׁירֹת בְּפֶסֶן[גַּ]לוֹת
 דְּ[חַת וְהַשִּׁים מְפֹלוֹתִיהָ נְתַלוֹת¹⁰⁶
 וְהַ[שְׁבִינוּ] נְאֹזְרִי הַאֲפָלּוֹת¹⁰⁸
 [וְ]הַ[רְאָקָק לְבַקְשׁ גַּם [בְּ]עַלּוֹת¹¹⁰
 וְתַבְעַל מְבִנּוֹתֶיךָ עָוֹבֹת
 וְגַלְוָת חַיל מִדְיָנָה הַעֲרִינָה
 אֲשֶׁר בָּלְאַלְיָה⁹⁷ אָרֶץ סְפִירָה
 וְמַשְׁאָת נְשָׂאוּ פִּי אַתְּ גּוֹרָתָה
 20 רְעִיבִים¹⁰⁰ מְבָלִי פִּים צְמָאִים
 וְלָלִי נְחָלָה¹⁰² נְחָל אֲכֹנוֹה
 אֲנוּ בָם נְעָקָר עַפְרָה קְבִינָה
 וְהִי הַאֲסֹרוֹת בְּפִקְוֹרוֹת¹⁰⁴
 אֲשֶׁר הַעֲמִיד יְסֹוֹת¹⁰⁵ מְשִׁפְטִין¹⁰⁶
 25 וְלָנָגָה¹⁰⁷ עַם יְשִׁירָה בְּתִלְקֹות
 בְּרִין דְּנַן¹⁰⁹ אַמְתָה[חַלְקָה] נְבָחוֹ

⁹⁵ Ed. reads **לְצֹרִיחַ**.

⁹⁶ ‘And make her rejoice with the gorgeous garment of betrothal.’
 בְּלִילוֹת is used instead of מַכְלֵל (Ezek. 23.12) for **כְּלִילוֹת**, cp. Jer. 2. 2.

⁹⁷ Fragment reads **עַלְיָה**.

⁹⁸ Construe the verse as if it read **אֲשֶׁר גָּלוּ וְהַשְׁנוּ אַלְיָהָרֶץ סְפִירָה**. Ed. reads **וְהַשְׁנוּ**.

⁹⁹ Ed. reads **וְהַפְּלִילָה . . . יְכֹלֹת**.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, **כְּעִיבִים**, and in a note **רְעִיבִים**.

¹⁰¹ ‘Hungry and thirsty like does that are failing in strength.’ Ed. reads
 בְּאַיִלּוֹת מְשֻׁולּוֹת מִזְוִילּוֹת, which is entirely void of sense.

¹⁰² Fragment reads **נְחָלִי**.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, **עַשָּׂה לְוָלִי**. The word **לְוָלִי** is to be supplied from the first hemistich, i.e. **לְוָלִי שְׁאֲרִירִתְּךָ עַקְבָּעָשׂ פְּלִילוֹת**.

¹⁰⁴ Pass. part. of **פְּקָר**. Fragment reads **בְּפִיקְוֹרוֹת**. Ed. has in a note **כְּפִטְרוֹת**.

¹⁰⁵ Ed. reads **יְסֹוד**. In this verse Gabirol begins to enumerate the great
 deeds of the man to whom the poem is addressed.

¹⁰⁶ Read perhaps **מְסֻלּוֹתֶיךָ סְלִילוֹת**.

¹⁰⁷ Plur. 3rd pers. of **לָנָן**.

¹⁰⁸ Fragment reads **בְּגָנוֹרִי**.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, **רַיּוֹן**.

¹¹⁰ Supply the word **צְדָקָה**, i.e. he sought justice and deeds of righteousness.

אנֶשֶׁר יִפְסִיק לְ[דִין] רָאִי לְהַפְסִיק] פְּ[אֶצְרֶקְתּוֹ כָּלִי אָנוֹ] [עַזְעַלְוֹת
 וּמִמְתֵּין בָּו וְאֶם] [זַקְוָק לְנַחְזָעָן] ¹¹¹ פְּאַזְנְחָרָת ¹¹² יְשִׁישִׁי הַעֲנָנוֹת
 [וְהַגּוֹן] מְבָלִי [טָעַת מְתוּקָן] ¹¹⁴ כְּאַרְחָן] שְׁאַבְנָיו בָּו סְקָלָות ¹¹⁵

APPENDIX.

As already stated above, the Genizah fragment published by Neubauer contains an index of the first lines of the poems of Judah Ha-Levi and of Ibn Gabirol. The index of Ha-Levi's poems is on the recto, and that of Gabirol's is on the verso of the manuscript; the writing, however, does not quite cover the whole of the verso, so that this appears to be the end of the list. On examining the list of Gabirol's poems we find that it contains 114 titles. This seems to show that the Divan from which our two leaves are taken was much larger than the Divan which the writer of the index had before him, for our fragment shows that the original Divan had already contained 126 poems in the first thirty leaves.

Of the 114 poems enumerated on the verso, one was identified by Halberstam as Judah Ha-Levi's, and one as Abraham Ibn Ezra's (col. 1, No. 5 and No. 26); 18 were identified by him as already printed in the edition of Dukes, and one more as printed by Sachs in *Ha-Magid*, 1864, p. 140; 27 were shown to have been recorded by Zunz in *Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 188-9, and the remaining 66 were

¹¹¹ Cp. 1 Sam. 21. 9.

¹¹² Ed. reads לְאַזְנָחָרָת.

¹¹³ As Dukes remarked, this refers to the Sanhedrin, who sat in a semi-circle (Sanhedrin 4.3).

¹¹⁴ Fragment reads בָּמָ.

¹¹⁵ The poem contains ninety-four lines, but our fragment ends with the twenty-ninth line.

left unidentified. Of these 66 I shall identify here 13, and of the other 48 I will give additional references in 27 cases. To facilitate reference, I number the poems in each column.

MS. Oxford No. 2835⁴⁷.

Verso. Col. 1.

6. סדר רב עמרם (in) שחר להודות . . . להודות. Read (Zunz, *Lit.-Gesch.*, 188, No. 25).
7. שלוף חרבך (cp. Zunz, *Lit.-Gesch.*, 188, No. 25).
8. שורי השווים (in Sachs, p. 132).
9. שש נגנוו לצאת (ibid., p. 163). Read (ibid., p. 163).
10. שח[ר אבקש] (ibid., p. 150; Baer, *ibid.*, p. 34).
11. (Sachs, *ibid.*, p. 140; M. Sachs, *Religiöse Poesie*², p. 7).
12. שער השיר (Brody, p. 39; H. M. Lazarus in *Jews' College Jubilee Volume*, p. 207).
13. שחר עלה אליו (Dukes, *Zur Kenntniss*, p. 157).
14. קונטרם הפויוטים, שורי השירים, שפל רוח (Sachs, *ibid.*, p. 107; Brody, No. 68).
15. לוח הפיטנים (cp. also Luzzatto, *ibid.*, p. 71, No. 61).
16. שלום לבן דוויי (cp. Luzzatto, *ibid.*, p. 72, No. 98).
17. שוכב עלי ממה (Dukes, *Zur Kennt.*, p. 158).
18. לקט תל אורות בנו יש (Halberstam, *ibid.*, p. 23; Graetz, *ibid.*, p. 55).
19. שכונה בשדה (cp. Luzzatto, *ibid.*, p. 71, No. 70).
20. המנייד (Dukes, *Zur Kennt.*, p. 158; XII, 357).
21. שאלוי יפיפה, המליאן, II, 111; Sachs, *ibid.*, p. 126).
22. שונה בחיק (Geiger, *Salomo Gabirol*, p. 141).

Col. 2.

1. ואל תחמה באיש (cp. St., *Cat. Bodl.*, p. 2337, No. 57).
2. העסיך וערום מבלי מלבולש (Harkavy, VI, p. 148).
3. שיר השירים בכו עמי וחגנוו (Graetz, *ibid.*, p. 45; Brody, p. 21).

Col. 3.

2. **לְךָ תְּחִרְשֵׁ** (גנוי אקספרד) זמני מה לך תחריש Brody, p. 32; שיר השירים, p. 32).

4. **הָלָא צָה אָבִי בְּלַחֲכִים** Read. הָלָא צָה אָבִי בְּלַחֲחִים, גנוי אקס' (הָלָא צָה אָבִי בְּלַחֲקִים p. 26).

14. **אֶפְול גְּדָרָה מִשְׁחָקָת** This is very likely identical with the poem on an apple (פי תפאה) published by Harkavy in האסיף, VI, p. 148, which begins אֶפְול גְּדָרָה מִשְׁחָקָת. Both of these readings, however, are void of meaning. I suggest, therefore, עַלְיָה מִשְׁחָקָת, which refers to the apple on the tree.

15. **לְמַה זֶה אַתְּ בְּקַיּוֹן** (Dukes, No. 64).

16. **שַׁעַר הַשְׁרָאֵלָתָם עַל לְבָבֵי** (Brody, p. 36).

19. **שְׁאַלְנוּ סְעִיףִי** Perhaps identical with נָאַלְנוּ כָּלְהַתְּמִים. **הַתְּמִים**. See below, Col. 4, No. 13.

22. **יְדִידִי צְמָקָנוּ דְּדִי** Identical with No. 123 of our fragment.

23. **מְלֹאתִי בְּרָאָנְתִי** See text of the article, note 20.

25. **הָלָא תְּשִׁבַּע יְדִידִי** (גנוי אקספרד) p. 22).

26. **זָמֵן בּוֹנֵד אַסְרָנִי** (Sachs, התהיה, II, p. 2).

Col. 4.

1. **שְׁוִירֵי הַשּׁוֹרִים** (Sachs, p. 129).

2. **שְׁוִירֵי שְׁלָמָה** (גנוי אקספרד) מושל בקנו ים No. 66).

3. **שְׁוִירֵי הַש'** (Sachs, p. 156).

4. **קְוִנְטְּרָם הַפִּוּטִים** (Sachs, *ibid.*, p. 111; Brody, שְׁוִירֵי לְאַל יְהִרְהָה No. 77; id., p. 41).

7. **שְׁוִירֵי הַש'** (Dukes, *Zur Kennt.*, p. 171; Sachs, שְׁחָרְתִּיךְ בְּכָל שְׁחָרִי p. 134; M. Sachs, *Rel. Poesie*, p. 8).

10. **שְׁוִירֵי הַש'** (Brody, קְוִנְטְּרָם הַפִּוּטִים, No. 79; Sachs, שְׁשָׁוִינִי רַב בְּן p. 137; Sachs, *Rel. Poesie*, p. 9).

12. **שְׁפֵל רֹוח שְׁפֵל** Identical with Col. 1, No. 18, q. v.

טָל אָוֹרֶת ; גַּנְיִי אַקְסָפֶרְד (שָׁלְלִי סְעִיףִי הַתְּ[מַה] 13. p. 29; קְוֹנְטָרָם הַפִּוּטִים No. 8).

שִׁירֵי הַשְׁוִירִים ; הַתְּחִיה II, p. 152; קְוֹנְטָרָם הַפִּוּטִים 15. p. 23).

קְוֹנְטָרָם ; הַמְגִיד 17. p. 357; שִׁירֵי הַשְׁוִירִים (שָׁאִי עַיִן יְהִידָתָך 16. No. 7; Dukes, *Zur Kenntniss*, p. 171; Sachs, *Rel. Poesie*, p. 8).

Col. 5.

וְאַלְין וְאַנְיָ נְבָהָל 5. (Brody, *Monatsschrift*, LV, p. 85, No. 19).

VI. TWO POEMS OF JOSEPH BEN JACOB IBN SAHL.

OUR knowledge of the life and writings of Joseph ibn Sahl is still very scanty. We have the testimony of Abraham ibn Daud that he was a pupil of Isaac ibn Ghayyat, and that he was rabbi of Cordova from 1113 to his death in 1124.¹ From two poems which he addressed to Moses ibn Ezra² we gather that he was very much attached to this poet,³ and that in his earlier years he suffered greatly at the hands of some ignorant people.⁴ Beyond this we have no biographical information concerning him. Yet we may assume that he must have written some scholarly works, considering the high rabbinic post which he held; he must have known Arabic, since, according to Bezalel

¹ Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, I. 75. Moses ibn Ezra, according to the quotation in *ספר יוחסין* (London, 1857, p. 229 b), places the date of his death in 1123.

² Dukes, *Moses ben Ezra*, Altona [1839], pp. 101-3.

³ Cp. Dukes, *ibid.*, p. 102, לְלוּ מִשָּׁה מִנִּים עָצְבִּי, and p. 3, לְבִי . . . הָאָר אַפְלָתִי בְּמִכְתְּבֵך.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102, ll. 4-7.

Ashkenazi, he translated some responsa of Alfasi from Arabic into Hebrew,⁵ and he certainly must have composed a large number of poems, since Ibn Daud,⁶ as well as Ḥarizi⁷ and Moses di Rieti,⁸ speak in high terms of his poetic gifts. Moses ibn Ezra also mentions him in his *Kitāb al-muḥadara wal-mudākara*,⁹ and quotes four verses from his poems.¹⁰

The two poems given below do not add much to our biographical knowledge of Ibn Sahl. They are nevertheless interesting, for one is addressed to Isaac ibn Ghayyat, his teacher, and the other may be one of the poems from which Moses ibn Ezra quoted.¹¹ The fragment (T-S. LOAN 168),

⁵ שטה מקובצת, B.M. fol. 108 a. See also Steinschneider, *Heb. Uebersetz.*, p. 912, 3.

⁶ Neubauer, *ibid.*, *ibid.*

⁷ תחכמוני, ch. 3, ed. Kaminka, pp. 39, 41.

⁸ מתקדש מעט, p. 99. Rieti classes Ibn Sahl with Gabirol and Moses ibn Ezra, and in a note copies the words of Ibn Daud.

⁹ אלמחאנצ'ה ס' יוחסין, *ibid.* See also Steinschneider's index to the Cat. of Berlin MSS., II, p. 130, according to which the name of Ibn Sahl occurs three times in that work.

¹⁰ These four verses are cited by Dukes in p. 10. As this book itself is rather rare I repeat them here :

(a) חסידיך נגלי ים עזומים זדרתך רהבה מותהומת

The fact that the two hemistichs rhyme with each other leads me to think that it is the opening line of a Kasida.

(b) אמת כי אתה לתורה בזמנ עז למן לא עטמך פליאות

(c) כמו נות ירובעל יבשה חסדו עלי ארץ ונפשי . . .

Dukes suggests that the word ראה may be supplied at the beginning of this verse.

(d) ומנחתי כמו מן זו בלהלה למרעו ול מנוח קנאות

To judge from their rhyme and metre it is possible that verses b and d are taken from one poem.

¹¹ The first of the four verses quoted has the same metre and rhyme as our poem, and seems also to deal with the same theme. It must, however, be admitted that the second poem excels by far in its style the poem addressed to Ibn Ghayyat, and reminds us forcibly of the style of Gabirol.

in which these poems are found, consists of two leaves of paper (17.5×13 cm.), which are not consecutive. They are very likely the outer leaves of a fascicle. I do not, however, consider them as part of a *Divan* of Ibn Sahl, but rather as part of a collection of poems by various authors. The reason for it is that the poems of Ibn Sahl are preceded by a fragment of a poem of Ibn Gabirol. What our fragment contains of the Gabirol poem corresponds to verses 51–70 of the poem beginning *החלפת החבמה*.¹² In the edition of Dukes there are 98 verses to the poem, and yet our fragment has the word *כملת* (= *finis*) written after the seventieth verse, which goes to prove that the poem suffered at the hands of the copyists. Further proof that the copyists were careless with this poem is the fact that even the ninety-eighth verse does not seem to be the proper ending.¹³ Dr. Brody, in his admirable edition of Gabirol, has begun to publish this poem, but his edition has thus far reached to the fortieth verse.¹⁴ It is advisable, therefore, to give here in a note the variants of our manuscript.¹⁵

Omitting fol. 1 recto and the first two lines of the verso, which are occupied by the lines of Gabirol, we may proceed to the text of Ibn Sahl.

A.

לִרְבּוֹ יְסָפֵךְ בֶּן סָהָל ז"ל
קָאֵלָה פִּי יְצָחָק בֶּן נִיאָת ז"ל

— — — — —
שְׁמָשׁ יְדִידּוֹת
אָשָׁר נָטוֹ אֶלְלִיָּה

¹² Dukes, *שוריו שלמה*, No. 68.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 68, n. 6.

¹⁴ Brody, *שור השיריים*, Berlin, 1900, pp. 35–6.

¹⁵ Ver. 54, וַיַּחֲזֹן בְּשָׁאֵיה, שְׁמָךְ [שְׁמָךְ] וַיַּגְּנֹן; ver. 56, וַיַּחֲזֹה; ver. 59, וַיַּגְּנֹן; ver. 60, וַיַּשְׁמַע נַאֲקָתָם וַיַּעֲלֵם נְגָרִים; ver. 62, וַיַּשְׁמַע עֲוָלִים; ver. 64, לְשָׁבִים וּנְגָרִים; ver. 65, מְזֹוִים לְמָזֹוִים; ver. 66, וַיַּחֲסֹד לְבָשָׁר.

וְלֹא תַּרְעַ שְׁבִילְךָ	שְׁכָחָה גָּבוֹלָה
בְּלִי־נָהָתָתְךָ עַל	בְּפֶמֶת חַשְׁכִּים
וְאַיְזָקָתָה לְלִילָּתָה	פָּלָל פְּרִירָה
לְעַפְעַפְיִ שְׁחִנִּיתָה	5 בְּלִתָּה מִיחַל
בְּנִילִים אֲנָלִיתָה	עַיִן חַעַל
וְתַּלְגָּר בְּרוּרָה	לְהַיָּשׁ רַצּוֹנָאָל
וְתַּשְּׁבַב אֶת חָ	בְּמוֹתָן חַבְלִי פְּרִירָה
עַלְיִ פִּירָר יְרִיחַ[ה]	מְהֻרְתַּבָּה נְפָשִׁי
אֲרִי 24 מְנָדָ שְׁתִּילָ[יְהָ]	10 וְאַנְטָעִי מְנָקָה
בְּנֵי עַיִשׁ 25 בְּלִי נָם	אַרְעָה בְּלָל

B.

(fol. 2, recto)

בְּתִחְתּוֹת וְשְׁבָנָתָה מְרוֹטִים	וְיִשְׁ אִישִׁים חַמְרוֹדָה וְהַגָּם
וּבְזָעִיר 27 בְּמוֹתָן לִילִי רְחִים	וְאַיְהָ יַאֲבָר נְפָל בְּגַנְשָׁר
וּמְלֹות לְמַרְכְּבָתָקָה רְתִים	אַלְחָ וּרְכָב נְשִׁיאָ, בַּי בְּגִינְעָש

¹⁶ Cp. Isa. 50. 10.¹⁷ Ps. 69. 4.¹⁸ Piel of **וָל** (cp. **חַזְלִים** זָהָב מְכִים Isa. 46. 6).¹⁹ Cp. Job 38. 28.²⁰ Read perhaps **בְּרוּרָה** (= in her circles). Cp. Isa. 22. 18, i.e. 'May God grant that his wandering sun of friendship may be stopped in her orbit.'²¹ According to the metre of this poem the line should begin with **חַבְלִי**.²² From the point of metre we must regard the **Sheva** in **תַּבְךָ** as **Sheva mobile**.²³ Text of manuscript reads **מְנָטָעִי** but over the the scribe wrote a **ג**. Both readings, however, are without meaning and against the metre.²⁴ Read perhaps **אֲרִיתִי** **מְרוֹיִ**, imperative of **אֲרִהָה** (cp. Cant. 5. 1); the meaning, however, remains obscure.²⁵ Job 38. 32.²⁶ Read perhaps **נוֹתָן**.²⁷ Cp. Zech. 9. 9.²⁸ Lev. 11. 18.

בְּלִיל שְׁמַחַת אֹגְלִים מַעֲנָמִים ³⁰	וְהָאָרֶץ שְׁמַחַת ²⁹ בְּתָ[רְ]עֵב
בְּלִיל לֹא יְחִזֵּק בְּחִזּוּמִים	אֲמָנָם פִּי שְׁנָתָם לֹא עֲרֵבָה ⁵
לֹךְ בִּירָאָן ³² לֹךְ אָרִים וְקָמִים	[עֲ]נִיק ³¹ בְּרַעַיד יְהוּדָה
לְמַעַן חֹזֶק עַלְיָה נְפַשְׁתָּם מַקְמִים	אַיָּוָק תָּגַמּוֹל לְשָׁרֵי מַחְלָלָה
שְׁבַחַיךְ בְּאָפֶן תְּשִׁיר גַּנְמִים.	וְאִם הַשִּׁיר חָלֵי ³³ כָּל הַגְּשִׁיאִים גַּבְּרִיד-גַּפְשִׁי, לֹךְ נְפִשְׁתָּם רְגֻועָה
בְּמַרְכָּצָע חַסְרִים מַעֲלָמִים	וְאַיִן עַפְיִי לְבָד לְשָׁזָן לְבָב ¹⁰
נְתַתְתִּיכְמֹו לֹךְ בְּשָׁרֵי תְּרִמִּים ³⁴	בְּזָה אֲשִׁיר לֹךְ שִׁיר יְדִירָות וְהַכְּרָת פָּנִי אִישׁ תָּעַנְהָ בּוֹ
וְהָ אָעַל בְּאָשָׁא אָהָב שְׁלָמִים ³⁵	וְיַגְּכָר ³⁶ בְּשָׁפְתָחָתָיו לְמַבּוֹן וְיַהְדָּנָא צָרָה לֹךְ פּוֹרָה וְנוֹאָל
בְּנִיקְיָו גַּמְמִינִים אָמָרְמִים ³⁸	וּבְזָכָב מְפַזֵּק פְּנֵה יְנַגֵּל
וְיַתְּחַדְּלָךְ בְּמִירְנָה שְׁלָמִים	
אַלְהִים אָתְ שְׁמוֹ מְפַזֵּק פָּעָמִים	

²⁹ Either read וְהָאָרֶץ שְׁמַחַת, or take שְׁמַחַת to stand for the Egyptians.

³⁰ An appellative for the Egyptians (cp. Gen. 10. 13).

³¹ 1 Sam. 28. 16.

³² The manuscript is torn, but the word אַיִן is written on the margin, apparently by the same scribe. It seems that in the text the two words בֵּין כִּי אַיִן were written by mistake.

³³ Pr. 25. 12.

³⁴ Lev. 27. 21.

³⁵ ‘And this I shall offer as a peace-offering in the fire of love.’ אָהָב is sing. of אָהָבִים, Hos. 8. 9.

³⁶ Construe it as if it read הַלְבּוֹ נָעָנָה. MS. reads חַלְבּוֹ.

³⁷ MS. reads יְוַנְכָד.

³⁸ Cp. the expression דִין מְרוּמָה (Sanhedrin 32b).

(fol. 2,
verso)

VII. THREE POEMS OF JOSEPH IBN ZADDIK.

JOSEPH IBN ZADDIK, the younger contemporary of Ibn Sahl, and his successor in later years to the rabbinate of Cordova (1138-1149), was highly praised for his poetic gifts by Judah Halevi,¹ Abraham ibn Daud,² Judah Harizi,³ and Menahem di Lonzano.⁴ It is very probable that many of the liturgical hymns which bear the name of Joseph in acrostic were composed by him, yet his authorship is certain only in three Piyutim.⁵ Our knowledge of his secular poems is likewise very scanty. There is one poem which he addressed to Judah Halevi when the latter passed through Cordova on his way to Palestine,⁶ and recently Dr. Brody brought to light three more poems, two of which are inscribed to Isaac ibn Muhamig,⁷ and the third the editor presumes to have been addressed to Moses ibn Ezra. There are still two other poems which are in some sources ascribed to Ibn Zaddik, but their authorship must remain a matter of doubt. For one of them is found in the *Divan* of Judah Halevi,⁸ and Dr. Brody is inclined to think that

¹ Cp. Brody, *Diwan*, I, Nos. 10, 32, 83, 124.

² Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, I, 75.

³ *תחכמוני*, ch. 3 (ed. Kaminka, pp. 39, 42).

⁴ *עתי ירושה*, 137 b.

⁵ (a) *אורה צור למכת יעה*, (b) *על ארכמך . . .* (c) *לו אוֹר קרוֹשִׁי*. *See Zunz, Literaturgeschichte*, p. 216; Neubauer and Cowley, *Catal.*, II, p. 155, No. 2738, 4 g.

⁶ It was first published by Luzzatto in p. 58. It is also found in Graetz's *לקרת שיער נזירים*, p. 101, and in Brody's *שער השיר*, p. 127.

⁷ Brody, *Drei unbekannte Freundschaftsgedichte des Josef ibn Zaddik*, Prague 1910.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Diwan*, I, No. 49 (כמעט). In the notes to this poem Brody states that two lines (3-4) of this poem are quoted by Eleazar b. Jacob Ha-Babli in the name of Ibn Zaddik.

it is more likely the composition of Halevi than of Ibn Zaddik,⁹ and the other, while in the *Divan* of Abraham ibn Ezra it is ascribed to Ibn Zaddik,¹⁰ is ascribed in another source to Abraham ibn Zaddok.¹¹

The texts produced below are found in two Genizah fragments of the Taylor-Schechter collection. The first fragment (T-S. LOAN 73) consists of a single sheet of paper (20 x 15 cm.), and contains two poems, one of which is incomplete. From the fact that the first poem is marked with the letter 'ב' we may draw the conclusion that it is the second poem of some collection, perhaps a *Divan* of Ibn Zaddik. It cannot be taken as the number of the page, since it is placed on the inner margin of the page. The other poem, however, bears no number, but the absence of the number may be due to the faded condition of the manuscript. The complete poem seems to be an epithalamium, and is addressed to Isaac ben Abi 'Ali, who is perhaps a son of Ezekiel b. Jacob Abu 'Ali of Damietta, to whom Judah Halevi addressed a poem when he left that city to continue his journey to Palestine.¹²

The second fragment (T-S. LOAN 167) consists of a small sheet of paper (14.7 x 10.5 cm.), written on one side only, and contains a poem addressed to Rabbi Joseph ibn Migash. This poem is found also in the *Divan* of Abraham ibn Ezra, and there it is stated that it was composed by

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Freundschaftsgedichte*, p. 7.

¹⁰ Egers, *Diwan des Abraham ibn Ezra*, p. 5.

¹¹ בוכבי יצחן, XXIX, 29-30. See also Steinschneider, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse d. k. Bib. zu Berlin*, II, p. 32, MS. 54, fol. 60b; Egers, *Diwan*, pp. 149-50; Brody, *Freundschaftsgedichte*, p. 6.

¹² Brody, *Diwan*, I, No. 30. See Steinschneider, *Introduction to the Arabic Literature of the Jews*, § 12, n. 10 (*JQR.*, IX, 627).

Ibn Ezra in honour of Ibn Zaddik.¹³ As far as the authorship of the poem is concerned, I am inclined to accept the testimony of our fragment, for the Ibn Ezra Divan is known to have a number of poems ascribed to him erroneously, as, for instance, No. 217, which is clearly the composition of Joseph ibn Zebara.¹⁴ Moreover, the extravagant praise which our poet lavishes on his friend Joseph would be more appropriate in the case of Ibn Migash, considering how equally lavish such men as Isaac Alfasi,¹⁵ Judah Halevi,¹⁶ and Maimonides¹⁷ were in their praises of Ibn Migash. There is, however, one point which casts a doubt on the identity of the Joseph to whom Ibn Zaddik addressed this poem. In verse 17 the poet refers to the son of his friend, and in the last verse he calls him by his name, Solomon. To our knowledge, however, Joseph ibn Migash had only one son by the name of Meir, whom Harizi mentions in the forty-sixth chapter of the *Tahkemoni*.¹⁸ We have, therefore, to look for another celebrated contemporary of Ibn Zaddik who had a son by the name of Solomon. And here, again, Harizi comes to our aid. For in the same chapter, in speaking of the great men of Toledo, Harizi

¹³ Egers, *Diwan des Abraham ibn Ezra* [=E], p. 87, No. 196. The poem had previously been published by Egers in *MGWJ*. 1883, p. 423 [=E'], afterwards it was also edited by Rosin in *Reime und Gedichte des Abraham ibn Ezra*, pp. 121-3 [=R], and by Kahana in קובץ חכמת הרא"ב, I, 44-6 [=K].

¹⁴ Albrecht, *Studien zu den Dichtungen Abrahams ben Ezra*, Leipzig 1903, pp. 27, 32.

¹⁵ According to Ibn Daud in ס' הקבלה Alfasi wrote of Ibn Migash שאפיאלו בדורו של משה רבינו לא אשכח בותיה (Neub., *M. J. Ch.*, I, 76).

¹⁶ Brody, *Diwan*, I, Nos. 62, 95, 114, 130; II, No. 21.

¹⁷ See Maimonides' Introduction to the Mishna, ed. Wilna, 1908, fol. 5 b, ll. 4-6 from above.

¹⁸ Ed. Kaminka, p. 350.

mentions Solomon b. Joseph ibn Shoshan as contemporary of Isaac the grandson of Joseph ibn Migash.¹⁹ It is therefore plausible that our poem was addressed by Ibn Zaddik to Joseph ibn Shoshan, whom Ḥarizi describes as הנשא הנדוֹל, and perhapson the occasion of the birth and circumcision of his son Solomon.^{19a} This would lend a more pregnant meaning to the seventeenth verse לא יכבה בך אחריך ' Thy son will come after thee that the light of the West may not be quenched'. Of course we must not lose sight of the possibility that Ibn Migash also had a son Solomon, of whom history has no other record, in which case the poem could very well have been addressed to him. Be this as it may, the text of our fragment is so much superior to that of the *Divan* of Ibn Ezra that I feel justified in reproducing it, irrespective of the identity of the persons mentioned in it.

The strophic character of the following poems is that of the *Muwaṣṣah*, or girdle song. Each poem, however, illustrates a different form of *Muwaṣṣah*.²⁰ For the better

וממבחן נשיאה הנשא רבי שלמה בן הנשא הנדוֹל רבי : ¹⁹ *Ibid.* יוסף בן שושן זכרו לברכה

^{19a} This poem naturally dates from before 1149, the year in which Ibn Zaddik died. If, therefore, Joseph ibn Shoshan had already given birth to a son, when this poem was composed, he must have been born at least twenty years before. This would put Ibn Shoshan's birth at about 1125, and not 1135, as Graetz assumes (*Geschichte*, VI, 207 : Hebrew translation, IV, 243, 244, 409). See also Schwab, *Rapport sur les Inscriptions hébraïques de l'Espagne*, pp. 58-60.

²⁰ On the structure of the *Muwaṣṣah* see M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht. I. Das Muwaṣṣah* (Weimar 1897), pp. 95 ff. Briefly stated it is as follows : The *Muw.* has two component parts, the *bait*, consisting of three or more lines, and the *kuſṭ*, consisting generally of two lines, each line again being divided into two hemistichs. Each *bait* has two sets of rhymes, one for the first hemistichs and one for the second hemistichs, and no two *bait*s need have the same rhyme. In the case of the *kuſṭ*, on the other hand, the two sets of rhymes are uniform throughout the poem, so that by

understanding of the metre be it remarked here that the שׁוֹא נָעַ in the middle of a word is disregarded, while a חֲנוּהָ קָלָה is counted as a full vowel.

(T-S. LOAN 73, recto)

וְלֹה אִצְאָ פִי מִ יְצָחָק בֶן אַבִיעָלֵל

אַעֲזָה אַלְלָה²¹

ב'

שָׁוֹר אָם קְרִיעָה בְּתִישְׁתָּחָר²²

וְלֹקְלָן שִׁירָה נְעֹרָה

מַה אַטְפִּי עַל־בַּיִת יְשָׁחָק²⁴

מַה שָׁוֹרֵשֶׁן

them the various *bait*s of the poem are held together as if by a girdle—hence the name *Muwassah*. Sometimes a *kufi* may have three sets of rhymes, one for the first hemistich of the first line, another for the first hemistich of the second line, and a third for the second hemistichs of the two lines. In that case the uniformity is kept up through the poem, as for instance in the first poem of our texts. The ordinary *Muw.* begins and ends with a *kufi*, containing altogether six *kufis* and five *bait*s, but there is also a class of *Muw.* which begins with the *bait*, in which case the number of *kufis* is only five. Both of these classes are illustrated by our texts (Nos. 1 and 3), while the incomplete poem (No. 2) is altogether peculiar since its *kufi* consists only of one line. For the use of the *Muw.* in later Hebrew poetry see Bacher, *שָׁוְרִי תִּימָן* (Budapest 1910), pp. 75 ff.

²¹ 'Another poem of his [addressed] to Isaac b. Abi'ali, the Lord strengthen him.'

²² This poem is undoubtedly a wedding song, and the poet, alluding perhaps to the ceremony of veiling and unveiling the face of the bride, compares her beauty to the dawn breaking through the darkness, and says: 'See if the daughter of the morning star has broken through the darkness of her armour, and let us awake at the sound of her song, at the sound of her dove-like cooing.'

²³ Note the alliteration and paronomasia. MS. reads *שִׁיר יוֹנָה*.

²⁴ Cp. Amos 7. 16. From here to the end of ver. 7 the poet devotes himself to the praise of the bridegroom. 'What', says he, 'shall I say of the house

בְּ הָוָא מִשְׁרָה יוֹנָה[ש]	עַל־מֵצֶחֶת יָמִים הַגָּק
אִישׁ לְקַנְתָּה דָּוָרֶשׁ	5 יִרְוֹשׁ לְעַלּוֹת אַל־שְׁחַק
אָמָרָא אַל־קְוִנָּה	יִטְבָּלָה אָוּ יִחָר
תְּחִיה לְאַדְוִיָּה.	שָׁבוּכִי בְּ נַחַלְתַּ מִשְׁרָה
בְּנֵפֶי רִיתְ רְכָבָו ²⁵	מִרְתָּקִים מִפְּרָתִקִים
מִיעַלְתַּ חָוּ גְּנָבִי	רִיתְ בְּשָׁמֵי תְּמָרִיקִים
עֲתָה תְּהִירָם קְרָבִי	10 בְּעַבְוָרָה ²⁶ סָודְ מִמְּתִיקִים
לְרַעֲוָתְ תָּוָפְּנָה	דָּוָרָה גָּדְ מַה־תְּתַאֲחֵר
לְלִקְוָטְ שְׁוֹשָׁנִיה	לְעַזְוִיתְ אַתְּבָה סָוָרָה
בְּיּוֹם נְתָנוּ רִיתְ ²⁷	דָּוָרָאִים מִדְוֹזִין ²⁷
מְנָדָר אָוּר וּזְהָר	לְהָפְצָפָן בְּרִיכִיךְיָה
עַד וְשָׁלָם יְרָתָם ²⁸	15 יְחִילָקָט לְמָנָגִין ²⁸
תְּדָר מִפְּתָרָוִיָּה ²⁹	בְּ סָהָר יִתְּחִיה מְחָרָה
תְּאַיְרָ מִשְׁבָּנִיה ³⁰	וְלֹאָה תְּהִנָּה לְמָנוֹרָה
אָזָרָה שְׁבָעָתִים,	נְאֹהָה לְהָעֲפָרָה, נְזָה
כָּל בּוֹכְבִּי שְׁמִים	הַחֲפִירָה לְאַלְיָ מְסֻהָּה (verso)

of Isaac [b. Abi'ali], for he holds so exalted a position that one might as well attempt to ascend to heaven as to attain it, and, whether pleased or displeased, let all who wish to attain it desist, for it shall remain with him as an inheritance.'

²⁵ From this verse to the end of the poem the poet lavishes his praise on the bride. 'From afar the winged wind rode and stole the spiced odours of the charming doe, holding sweet counsel about her, for the time of love has approached (vers. 8-10). Beneath her ornaments she conceals for thee the choicest splendour (ver. 14). Her beauty, if not masked, would put to shame the stars of heaven (ver. 19). He who has looked into her face has looked upon a constellation' (ver. 26).

²⁶ MS. reads בְּעַבְוָרָה.

²⁷ Cp. Prov. 7. 18.

²⁸ MS. reads בְּיּוֹם.

²⁹ Cp. Isa. 3. 18.

³⁰ MS. reads מִשְׁבָּנִיה.

שְׁפַרְתָּה מְעִינִים	20 רְמוּנִי סְעִיף רְוָה ³¹
צְעִיף אֲפָעָלִיךְ	בֵּי חֹצִיאָה מַאֲחָר
אָין רֹושׁ בְּפִתְחִיָּה	אָךְ [אָ] מִקְּם אַלְפְּתִיאָה
אָל כָּר הַפּוֹדֵץ ³³ צְמָאָה	גַּפְשׁ גְּבֻעָת הַלְּבָנָה ³²
וּרְרוֹר לְהָקֵן מְצָאָה	עַד אַרְסָה לֹא בְּאֶמְנָה
כָּל מְהֻלָּל בְּהָגָלָה	25 יְנֵה יְפָה בְּלִבְנָה
עַיְשׁ עַלְבְּנִיחָה	שְׁוֹתֵר פְּנִיחָה שִׁיחָר
אָל עַבְרֵר פְּנִיחָה	וּמְנוּתָה חָן הַאִירָה

„מְלֹאָה“³⁵ אַתְּרָבָן צְדִין

— — — — —	— — — — —
אָין דֵי לְחִילֵי	אָלְכָא בְּגַלְעָד
אָלְכָל חָלֵי יְשֵׁה דֵי בָּאָרֵי	כִּי אָם בְּמַצְעָד ³⁶
לִי תְּהִרְשָׁו אָחִי אַרְזָקָה	אָירֵךְ אַעֲשָׂקָה עַד
בַּת יְאָתָה לְהַפְּלִילָה	אָוָלֵ בְּקֹולֵי
תְּחִישׁ לְתֹזְחָלָת מִשּׁוֹבָה	מִילֵּי וִישָׁוִתֵּי
תְּשִׁמְעַ וְתִנְחַה אָתֵת מְזֹרֵי	מוֹתֵי מְנוּחָה
לְעוֹ בְּרוֹב בְּעֵסִי וִישָׁוִתֵּי	
אוֹ אַמְצָאָה חַפְצֵי וְאָחָרֵי	

³¹ ‘The pomegranates of a watered branch’ may be a poetic expression for her ‘temples’. Cp. Cant. 6. 7.

³² MS. reads לְבָוָנה, but metre requires correction. Cp. also Cant. 4. 6.

³³ A poetic term for the bridegroom. ³⁴ Job 38. 32.

³⁵ See n. 20 above.

³⁶ Cp. Ps. 37. 23.

³⁷ ‘Death shall bring me peace unless I find my delight and my brother.’

(T-S. Loan 167)

לֵם יְוֹסֵף בֶּן צָדִיק יָמָדָח בָּה מֶרְדָּךְ יְוֹסֵף בֶּן מִוְגְּשָׁה³⁸

— — — — —
 אֵי יְשָׁן מִתְּחִדְשָׁן גִּילִים³⁹ אֵי שִׁירֹתָן עֲנָכִים⁴⁰
 בְּלִדְםָן נְאָכֵר לְאָזְוִילִים⁴¹ בְּלִתְהִי דְּסַעְנָבִים⁴²
 לֹא יוּכְלָה שְׂאָתָה גְּלִים⁴³ בְּזָא וְשָׁבֵן קְרָבִים⁴⁴
 הַפְּמָחָל עָרִי תְּקִדְמִים⁴⁵ בְּרִינָה מְעַמְּךָ
 5 בְּנָם רְכֵב לְנִגְפְּשָׁו אָשָׁם⁴⁶ נְזָעָם וּזְעָמָךָ⁴⁷
 חַבְיאָג אַצְרִי אַדְרָם אַל⁴⁸ מְפֻתָּה לִבְן אֲנָנוּשָׁת⁴⁹
 [וַיְחִי עֹז, וְהִיָּה נָגֵל]⁵⁰ מְפַרְאָה הַגְּפָשָׁת⁵¹
 חַבְמָי עַם קְרוּשָׁת⁵² חַבְמָי בָּנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל

³⁸ The inscription in E reads: וּמְרָאָן אֵל אָחָד: וּזְאַזְנָן אֵל אָחָד.

³⁹ 'Where is the old [wine] that brings new joys ?' The poem may be divided into two parts, the first, ending with ver. 10, is devoted to the praise of wine, and the second, extending from ver. 11 to the end of the poem, is devoted to the praise of Joseph. The first part would seem to indicate that the poem was written on some festive occasion, perhaps on the circumcision of Joseph's son, Solomon.

⁴⁰ EE'RK. שִׁירָת.

⁴¹ MS. נְאָחָז.

⁴² A poetic name for the Jewish people. Cp. אַצְוָל בָּנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל (Exod. 24. 11).

⁴³ Deut. 32. 14.

⁴⁴ EE'RK. יוּכְלָן.

⁴⁵ The vessels are profane until the wine sanctifies them. RK read incorrectly טְעַמְּךָ.

⁴⁶ Referring to Jer. 35 the poet says that he who tastes wine is blessed, but he who curses it is cursed.

⁴⁷ לְנָן is wanting in E.

⁴⁸ Jer. 15. 18.

⁴⁹ This verse is wanting in MS.

⁵⁰ The MS. as well as EE' reads חַבְמָות עַם קְדוּשָׁת. Rosin reads חַבְמָות עַם קְדוּשָׁת, and explains it in the following way: Sie, die hier an der Tafel befindlichen Lehrer Israels, bleiben mit den keuschen 'Lehrerinnen' חַבְמָות עַם (ם).

יְהִמּוֹ בְּחִמּוֹ	עַד אַלְמָה אֲנִי וְאַבְקָשָׁם	⁵¹
מִפּוֹת ⁵³ גְּעַמִּיךְ.	עַלְיָמָן, וְהַזְּדַבְּחָשָׁם	⁵²
מֵי ⁵⁴ הַוָּא בְּפַעַלִים	בְּקַשְׁתִּי בְּקָצְוִיתִבְלָל	
זֹה נְוַיָּא מְשֻׁלָּם	זֹה חֹשֵׁב וְזֹה שְׁרַדְגְּבָל	
לְקָדְשָׁפָט חַבְלִים	מִחְקָכָמוֹת לְכָלָם חַבְלָל	
בְּיַיְלָה חַבְמָה	יְעַרְוָה לְקַחַת בְּגַשְׁשָׁם	
יְקָם נְאַמִּיךְ	וּבְשׁוֹאָל בְּטָוֵר לְשָׁם	¹⁵
בְּיַיְלָה יְאַרְךְ	תְּפָאִירָת שְׁמָךְ רַבָּה	
בְּגַנְךְ אַחֲרִיךְ	גַּר מִעֲרָב אַשְׁר לֹא יְכַבֵּה	
בְּבִרְית עַמְךְ שְׁחָק בָּא	אַרְצָה פְּעַרְךְ	

קָדוֹשׁוֹת) *glücklich vereint, während ich davon reisen muss, und nicht weiss, wo ich in aller Welt so vortreffliche Menschen mir noch einmal suchen soll* (*Reime u. Gedichte*, p. 123, n. 3). Kahana adopts the reading of Rosin. This interpretation, however, is not only far-fetched, but it also breaks the continuity of the poem, and does not explain to whom *תְּלִבְשִׁים* in v. 10 refers. In my opinion the whole passage from v. 6 to v. 10 may be rendered as follows: 'Bring the red balsam (i. e. wine) for the incurable wounds of the heart so that it (i. e. the heart) live again, and let it (i. e. the wine) become the redeemer and healer of souls.' Then, addressing himself to the wine, the poet continues: 'While I go in search of them, the wise of Israel, the wise of the people of holiness, let thy mercy be compassionate upon them (i. e. the wounded hearts and souls), and do thou dress them in the glory of thy sweet garments.'

⁵¹ EE'RK. ואנה אַבְקָשָׁם.

⁵² EE'RK. עַלְיָא לְוֹר הַלְּבִישָׁם.

⁵³ Cp. Gen. 49. 11.

⁵⁴ E. וּמַי.

⁵⁵ A play on Ezra 47. 13, where יְסַפֵּה is used as a verb. RK read לְקָדְשָׁת.

⁵⁶ Refers to the *Urim* and *Thummim*, cp. Num. 27. 21. Cp. also 2 Sam. 16. 23. E reads וּבְשׁוֹאָל בְּטָבּוֹן; יְקָם נְאַמִּיךְ; וּבְשׁוֹאָל בְּטָבּוֹן לְשָׁם; וּבְשׁוֹאָל בְּטָבּוֹן לְשָׁם; K. בְּיַיְלָה.

⁵⁷ EE'RK. רַבָּה צָרָךְ יְאַרְךְ.

⁵⁸ Judah Halevi says of Ibn Migash (*Diwan*, I, No. 130, ver. 7). MS. reads לֹא נְכַבֵּה שְׁמַךְ אַחֲרִיךְ.

⁵⁹ MS. בִּרְית.

בֵּין מִתְּקָמֵמִיךְ	ימִם לְעָבָדים בְּבָשָׂרֶם	⁶⁰
עַד תָּום לְזַחְמֵיךְ	זְבַחֲשֵׁי לְךָ וְתִכְבִּישָׁם	20
עַל קֹצֵר תִּחְלֵה	כְּלָאָהָרָפִי וְלֹא	⁶¹ הַתֹּרֶה
מְהֻחָבֵל מְגַלָּה	בֵּין יִסְרָעָתָךְ אֵין מִתְּהָ	
תּוֹרָה עִם גְּרוּלָה	וְלֹא גְּאַתָּה כָּל חִמְרָה	
מְאַב קְרַמְמַח	בֵּין בָּבּוֹד וְהַזְּדָר פִּינְשָׁם	
נְשָׁלָמָה צָמְמָוחַ	בֵּין יְטִיב אֱלֹהִים אֶת שֵׁם	⁶² 25

VIII. A POEM OF JOSEPH BEN SHESHETH HA-SEPHARDI.

IN the third chapter of the *Tahkemoni* Judah Ḥarizi mentions twice the name of Joseph ben Shesheth among the great poets of Spain, and in both instances he mentions him immediately after Moses ibn Ezra,¹ from which we

⁶⁰ E' reads יִמִים לְעָבָדים בְּבָשָׂת, R reads רַמִים, K reads בְּבָשָׂת כְּבָשָׂת. The word *בְּבָשָׂת* *ימִם* may, however, be taken in the sense of *יִמִים*, i.e. fate (cp. above, Poetic Fragments, V, note 39), and vv. 18, 19 may be rendered as follows: 'Heaven hath made a covenant with thee, nay the earth will help thee to make fate itself thy slave' (אָרֶן תְּעוֹרֵךְ יִמִים לְעָבָדים לְכָבֵשָׁם).

⁶¹ A similar statement is applied by Judah Halevi to Ibn Migash וְשָׁנְאֵיךְ יִמִים לְעָבָדים בְּשָׂת וְאֶהָל רְשָׁעִים אַיִלָנָנוּ וְבָרָשָׁם.

⁶² EE' ; וְלֹא הַתֹּרֶה.

⁶³ E. ; E' ; תִּפְלָה.

⁶⁴ MS. reads בֵּין.

וְלֹא כְשׂוֹרֵי מִשְׁהָ בֵן עֹזָרָ מַזְקִים וְלֹא כְשׂוֹרֵי : ¹ The passages read רבִי יוֹסֵף בֵן שְׁשָׁת לְנֶפֶשׁ דְּבוּקָם . . . וְרִי מִשְׁהָ בֵן עֹזָרָ מַזְקִים הַפְנִינִים תְּחִכְמָנוּ . . . וְרִבִי יוֹסֵף בֵן שְׁשָׁת הַצִּבְעָרָיו לְמַטְרָה וַיְהִי רְבָה קַשְׁתָּה Kaminka, pp. 39, 41). The Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 27, 113 has in the first passage the reading רִי מִשְׁהָ בֵן שְׁשָׁת כְשׂוֹרֵי רִי מִשְׁהָ בֵן שְׁשָׁת כְשׂוֹרֵי also in the second passage עֲשָׂרָה (see Kaempf, p. 8, 11). But aside from the fact that this manuscript is well known to be full of errors (see Kaminka, *ibid.*, 468), there is no doubt that מִשְׁהָ is

may assume that Harizi speaks of a poet who flourished during the first half of the twelfth century.

The poem given here below, likewise from the Taylor-Schechter collection,² is probably the composition of this ancient poet, for the name of Joseph ben Shesheth is clearly stated in the title, and traces of the acrostic Joseph are discernible in the second stanza, where the 'Yod' and the 'Samek' of the name are marked with three dots in a slanting position—the usual sign of the letters of an acrostic in ancient manuscripts. Unfortunately the stanza is illegible just where the other initials ought to be. However, the mere fact that the name of our poet was Joseph ben Shesheth is not sufficient in itself to establish his identity indisputably.

The poem, as the title indicates, was addressed to the 'famous scholar R. Judah', but all that is left of R. Judah's patronymic is the initial ת and the final י, from which it is impossible to learn his identity. We gather, however, that he was a Cohen,³ famous for his generosity,⁴ his great learning,⁵ and his eloquence.⁶ From the closing stanza it seems that he was involved in some struggle from which he came out victorious, but what the cause of the struggle was, or who his enemies were, is difficult to conjecture.

The purpose of the poem was to invite R. Judah to leave Spain, where he must have felt himself a stranger,⁷ and

here a dittography due to מִשְׁהָ בֶן עִירָא preceding it. For other poems by Joseph ben Shesheth cp. Neubauer, *Catal.*, II, 2699, 5b (beg. מה נعمו...) and 2712, 11h (beg. אָעִיד לְבָבִי וּרְעִוָנִי...). For the family name Shesheth, cp. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Asher, II, pp. 3-5.

² T-S. LOAN 7. Paper, 1 leaf, 15-14 cm., cursive hand, written on one side only.

³ Cp. ver. 11.

⁴ Cp. ver. 14.

⁵ Cp. vers. 15-17.

⁶ Cp. ver. 21.

⁷ Cp. ver. 2.

settle in שָׁרָה צָעַן,⁸ which very likely stands for Fostat.⁹ From this it is to be concluded that Joseph ben Shesheth himself, though originally a Spaniard, was no longer there. Indeed, the fact that the surname *Ha-Sephardi* was applied to him is additional proof that he lived outside of Spain. If not for this, we might perhaps identify him with Joseph ben Shasheth ibn Latimi, a liturgical poet of the thirteenth century, but the latter seems to have lived to the end of his life at Lerida in Spain.¹⁰

As to the form of the poem, it may be remarked that in the manuscript the verses are not separated but follow each other continuously, occupying altogether thirteen lines. Of course there is no punctuation. The metre of the shorter verses is that which is known as *Basit*,¹¹ consisting of (1) — — ˘ — and (2) — ˘ — — —, while that of the longer verses consists of (2) + (1) + (2), in other words, a modified form of the same metre. Each group of short verses has its own rhyme, while all the longer verses are divided into two hemistichs and have throughout the poem one uniform rhyme for the first hemistichs and another for the second hemistichs.

רָהַט לְיוֹסָף בֶּרֶ' שְׁשַׁת הַסְּפָרָדִי נֵן פִּי אֶל שָׁוֹךְ אֶל אֶגְלָן רִ'
יְהוּדָה ח... נְלָמָה לְשָׁב עֲנֵנִי¹²

| — — — — | — — — — | — — — —
יְנֹור וְצִירָיו¹³ בְּנֵלָעֵד וּוְעַן¹⁴ | מה-לְּבָל בְּסִפְרָד

⁸ Cp. ver. 4.

⁹ Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, I, 118; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, V, 61 a.

¹⁰ See Landshuth, p. 98.

¹¹ Kaempf, *Die ersten Makamen*, p. 21, 3 b.

¹² The meaning of this phrase is obscure.

¹³ Jer. 8. 22.

¹⁴ The Pual of מְנַן is post-talmudic.

	מה-הַלְּךָ דָּוְהַלְּבָ בְּגִירָה ¹⁵ פָּעָן
	בְּאַדְּךָ לְאַחַל יִקְרָר בְּלִיצָעָן ¹⁷
	צָפָ בְּבִעְרָה-צָעָן ¹⁸
5	קַם עַטְּה [עַיְלָ] בְּשָׂרֶר תְּגִלָּה [וְתִּפְרָחָה וְיִגְּזַעַן טְוֹעָן ¹⁹ מֵהָ]
	יִתְּחַבְּרוּ מִחְלָלִים
 חַמּוֹדֹת לְכָבָב
	שְׁבֵיבָן שְׁלָמִים וְאַיְן קוֹל
מֵהָ	הַפִּיק אֱלֹהִים רְצָוֹן וְיִצְחָן ²⁰ מֵהָ
	הָא ²¹ גָּוָר אַרְיָה ²² וּבְנָדָגָנִים ²³
	וּבְחֵיר אֱלֹהִים סְגָן הַפְּנִינִים
	גְּשָׁמָע וְחַלְלָשָׁמָוּ בְּהַמּוֹנִים ²⁴
מֵהָ	עַד בְּנָעָן וְעַד ²⁵ תְּכִי הַזָּא בְּמֹפְתָת בְּקָוָן ?
	לְגַלְלָה חֲסָרִים וְגַס ²⁶ בְּלָ מִתְּחַלָּל
	עַבְנָן שְׁעִיפִים וְסָוד מַעַלְלָה ²⁷
	מוֹלִיךְ חַבְטִים וְשָׁרִים נְשֹׁוֹלָל ²⁸

¹⁵ Jer. 41. 17, and Rashi *ad loc.*

¹⁶ = 'Wilt thou tarry', cp. Sanhedrin 11. 4: זה עניין את דיןך של זה :

¹⁷ Isa. 33. 20.

¹⁸ Ps. 78. 12.

¹⁹ Analogous to in ver. 1, and likewise post-talmudic. ²⁰ Jon. 2. 1.

²¹ Gen. 47. 23. We may perhaps connect this verse with the preceding and read: *וַיָּמָן הָא גָוָר אַרְיָה*, 'and he appointed this lion's whelp'.

²² So in MS., the metre requires אַרְיָה, cp. 1 Kings 10. 20.

²³ The 'hatef' in this and in several other words is disregarded.

²⁴ Joel 4. 14.

²⁵ Num. 21. 1. It is simply a poetic allusion to the East.

²⁶ MS. reads גַס.

²⁷ Cp. the expression in Gabirol's *בְּתַחְיָה מְלָכּוֹת* וְזָה עֲנִיה וְסָודָה, *מי יִגְעַל חַכְמָתָךְ*.

²⁸ Job 12. 17.

מֵה	כְּלֶלֶל וְרַקְעָן וְנִשְׁבָּח הַיּוֹן. ³⁰	מְלַשּׁונֹת טָרֵד ²⁹
	מִירָה עֲבָדוֹ וְשָׁאָל חֹזֶשׁ ?	
	שָׁד ³¹ לְעַפּוֹם, בְּמִרְאָיו נָפְשָׁךְ,	
	חַכְמָת שְׁפָחָיו מִשְׁיָבָת נְפֶשֶׁךְ	20
מֵה	מְפִיו בְּרַלְחָן, וְיַרְדֵּה הַפְּנוֹן. ³²	אַמְּדִיבָּר, נְפָרֵד
	קֹל הַפְּשֹׁוֹרָה בְּתַבֵּל עַבְרָן,	
	קֹל פִּי יְהוָה בְּאָחָיו פְּבָר ³³	
	גָּנוֹן הַשְׁנָאִים ³⁴ וְעָם שָׁבָר	
מֵה	עַמְּדָאֵל גַּם-עַם-קָדוֹשִׁים גָּאָמֵן ³⁵	[ר] 25 יְהוָה עֹז רַ[ר]

²⁹ ‘He banished these three wise men from speech,’ i.e. he surpassed them.

³⁰ 1 Kings 5. 11.

³¹ Lam. 4. 3.

³² Cp. the expression פָּה שְׁהַפֵּיק מְרַגְּלִוִּות Kiddushin 39 b.

³³ 1 Chron. 5. 2.

³⁴ So in MS., but the metre is incorrect.

³⁵ Lev. 26. 19.

³⁶ Hos. 12. 1.